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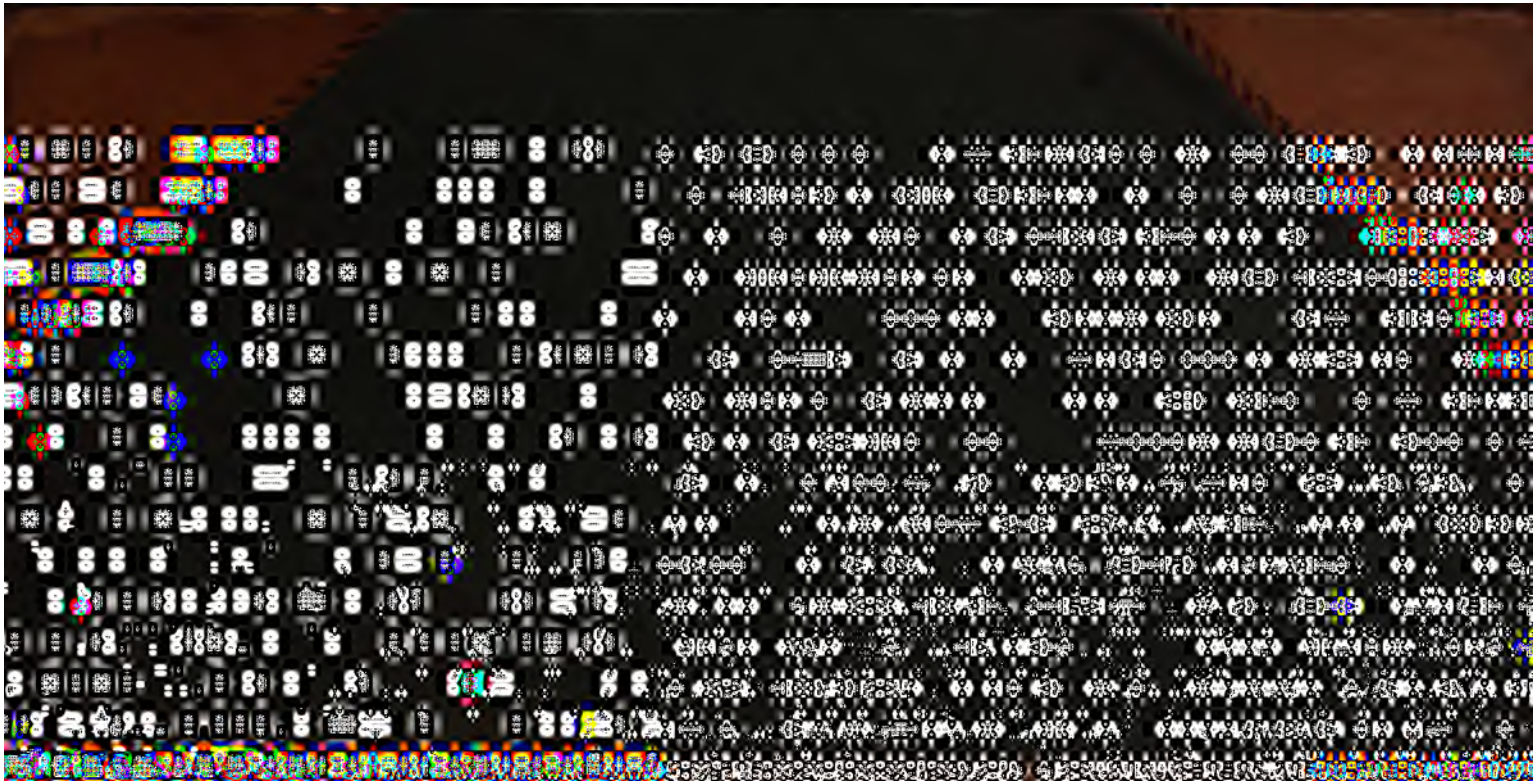

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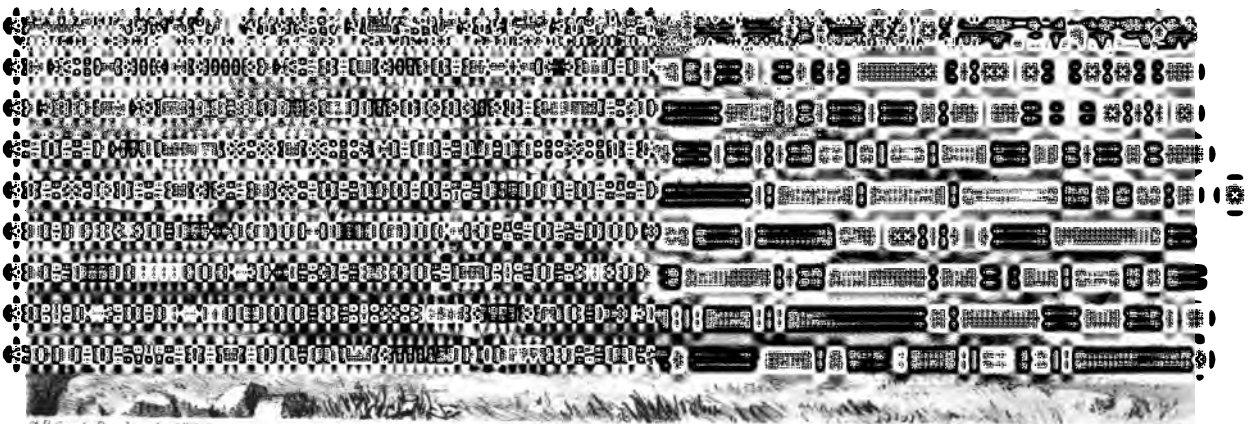


TOWN & CITADEL of KHELAUT, from the East

London Published by R. Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1840

# NARRATIVE

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE

# ARMY OF THE INDUS,

IN SIND AND KAUBOOL,

IN 1838-9.

BY

RICHARD HARTLEY KENNEDY, M.D.

LATE CHIEF OF THE MEDICAL STAFF OF THE BOMBAY DIVISION
OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1840.

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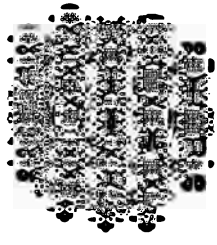

# PREFACE.

THE following notes and observations are extracted from a very voluminous correspondence which the Author maintained with two near relatives, whose position made it more than a mere matter of curiosity that they should be kept accurately informed of every occurrence in the camp of the army of the Indus. The letters were carefully preserved; and having been written on the spot and at the moment, are a faithful history of the journeys and table gossip of the Staff mess-parties.

The secrets of office are beyond the Author's reach, and the time for history is not come: the propriety of such interference at Kaubool as the deposition of Dost Mahomed and the

exaltation of Shah Soojah, of the policy throughout pursued towards Runjet Sing, and the system so long persevered in and so concluded in Sind, are parts of a great whole, which must soon be seen developed in all its wisdom or the reverse; for the result, whether for good or for evil, must quickly appear; and the cost, as proportioned to the benefit, supposing it be a benefit, must soon be counted. The oldest of the parties concerned is likely in the course of nature to live to see it; the seed they have planted will not be watched through a century of expectation.

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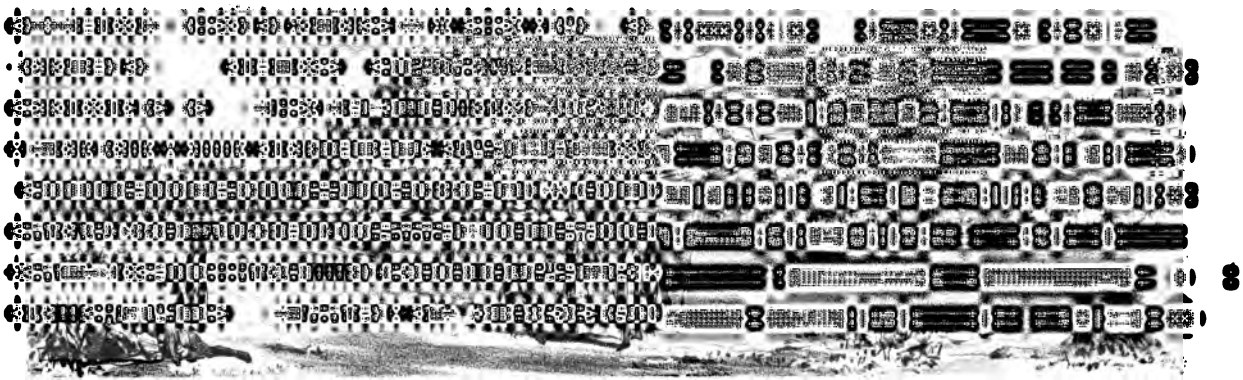


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# NARRATIVE

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE

# ARMY OF THE INDUS,

IN 1838-9.

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## CHAPTER I.

Adieu to Friends.—My berth.—Sleepless night.—Vessels of the Expedition taken in tow by the Semiramis steamer.—Tow-ropes snap at starting.—Captain Porter.—Wonders of Steam.—Town of Diu; propriety of purchasing it from the Portuguese.—Slave-trade.—Somnath Puttan.—Pore Bunder.—Pagoda of Dwarka.—Devastations of the Plague. — Vessels become entangled. — Arrival in the Indus.—Two botillas upset upon the bar.—Crews saved by Captain M'Gregor.—The British Drum.

It was a calm and bright star-light night, on Wednesday, November 21st, 1838, when, at ten in the evening, I embarked in Bombay harbour on board the Tapty gun-brig, for the Sind ser-

vice. The separation of friends, the scattering of the members of a family, and the interruptions of domestic peace and its enjoyments, are the every-day occurrences of military life; and those who cast their lot in the whirlpool of the public service abroad, must be prepared for the turbulence of its torrent, and the perplexities of its eddies.

An experience of nearly twenty-eight years' service in India had left me no novice in any of the requisites for whatever was likely to befall; and though I had not anticipated the duties that had suddenly devolved on me, they were in every respect suited to my taste and my position, and I undertook them as one who felt himself at home in office. Thus, though I left my sweet home, and all its happiness, with the natural sighs of one whose domestic circle is deservedly most dear, and cast "many a longing, lingering look behind," as I said "Farewell!" there was much excitement, and much anticipated gratification in prospect, and I was able to reconcile myself to the present by the hopes of the future.

On reaching the gun-brig, I found that my accommodation was far superior to my expectation. A large cabin, eleven feet by eight, was allotted to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and myself; and my bed was prepared for me as comfortably as I could have hoped for on shore. My servants were in attendance; and the absence of ship-smells and vermin enabled me to prepare for my night's repose, without any threatened approach of that abdominal mutiny and revulsion, which the amiable Miss Pringle, in the "Ayrshire Legatees," has so aptly designated "the odious reverse of swallowing," and to which my frail inward man is most painfully liable.

It was, after all, a sleepless night. The recollection of all that was behind, and fancies of all that was to come, sufficed to murder sleep; and the hourly toll of the ships' bells in the harbour, the cries of the crews of passing boats, the hails from the fishermen's skiffs, the screams of sea-birds, and other maritime discords, were heard through the dreary period, till night

slowly faded before the dawn of day, and I hastened upon deck to enjoy the morning.

Man may be a thinking or a cooking animal, he may be a laugher or a weeper in his philosophy; but sensitive or callous, cold or hot, we feel the first moment of inaction following incessant exertions, and pause to gather our scattered ideas, and separate our recollections of the past from our anticipations for the future. No man had ever been more taken by surprise than myself, when, on the 28th October, at Mahabuleishwer, I learnt that I was named to the high honour of chief of the medical staff of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus. Report had fixed on a junior medical officer for the appointment, a gentleman who was said to stand high in the favour of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief; but the Bombay Government disapproved of the arrangement, and insisted that one of the four superintending surgeons of the establishment should accompany the force, and that no new promotion should be made. Thus the world has been robbed by the etiquette of office of the rich harvest that might

have been reaped by a better qualified labourer in this field, and a more gifted observer and treasurer of observations.

I was at Mahabuleishwer, on my tour of duty for the annual inspection of hospitals, and little dreaming of the journey before me, when the order to "join head-quarters forthwith" reached me. A most hurried journey had brought me to Bombay, November 3rd, when I learnt that we were to embark on the 15th; and this was all the warning given to collect and organize my department, to see that the material was sufficient, and the stores properly applied for and supplied. Whoever knows anything of similar preparations will estimate the exertions I had been called upon to make; and will know that, betwixt the 3rd and 20th November, I had little leisure for the indulgence of moral reflections of any kind.

Thus, as the sun rose on Bombay harbour, it was almost the first hour that had been allowed me for the exercise of any sober meditation; and as I stood by the taffrail of the gun-brig, and looked on the familiar scenes so often con-

templated under such different aspects, and in such different positions, the mind had its full occupation with its own deep thoughts, and travelled through twenty-eight years of passing up and down, that little world to me, the Bombay earth, and to and fro in it.

It had been ordered that, with break of day, the Semiramis steamer, of seven hundred and eighty tons, with two engines of one hundred and fifty horse power each, was to take us and two other vessels in tow. On board of the steamer were embarked his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, and his personal staff. In the Tapty gun-brig, of one hundred and seventy-five tons, were embarked the Adjutant and Quarter-master Generals, Major Keith and Colonel Campbell; the medical staff; the Field-surgeon, Dr. Pinhers; the Deputy Medical Storekeeper, Dr. Don, and myself; and one hundred and seventeen public followers, with thirty-seven servants. Behind the Tapty was to be towed a large Muscat bugla, of one hundred and twenty tons' burthen, laden chiefly with the tents and baggage of the Commander-

in-chief; and lastly, a flat-bottomed pinnace, of about fifty tons, intended as a present from our Government to Runjit Sing. A distance of fifty fathoms sufficed betwixt the Semiramis and Tapty, about forty fathoms betwixt the Tapty and the bugla, and thirty fathoms betwixt the bugla and pinnace. The strain on the steamer may be imagined, when dragging such a weight, and at such a length, through a head-sea, and against a stiff breeze direct ahead, through the whole voyage.

It had originally been intended that some four or five hundred men of the Queen's Royals and the 17th regiment should have been conveyed in the steamer; and this ought to have been the arrangement. The Tapty brig could have afforded ample accommodation for the Commander-in-chief; and such of the staff as could not have been received in the Tapty could have been embarked on the bugla. The employment of the steamer as a transport would not only have brought an important body of men more immediately to the scene of operations, but would have saved Government the

hiring of a transport, say ten thousand rupees. But such a sum, more or less, will prove as dust in the balance, when weighing the cost of the campaign. The Semiramis steamer was therefore "flying light;" and we, at our ease in abundant elbow-room, had great reason to be thankful for the indulgence.

At seven in the morning the Semiramis was under way, and steering towards us; our anchor was instantly up, and our sails set to drop into her wake in the open harbour, and at eight we had received the tow-ropes, and secured them to our vessel; but at the first tug the huge hawsers snapt like threads, and we were adrift in the harbour. Our anchor was instantly dropt; the steamer anchored close to us, and boats were despatched back to the dockyard for fresh hawsers. By some it was supposed that the coir hawsers, being new, should have been soaked in sea-water ere strained in such a manner; but, whether they were too new and too dry, or, in reality, not strong enough, we had cause of thankfulness that the disposition to

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cast us adrift was so early manifested; as, had it occurred at sea and by night, much loss of time, much inconvenience, and some anxiety and alarm, might have been the consequence.

Poor Porter, who commanded the Semiramis, has since been in trouble. In the vicissitudes of fortune how often one sees the hero of to-day, the victim of to-morrow! He was now our Commodore, and came on board of our vessel, and, in all the exuberance of a sailor's boisterous mirth, was enjoying the jest that he should be taxed with having wilfully broken the hawser to reap another day's benefit of the table-money allowed for his Excellency the Commander-in-chief and his personal staff! I never made his acquaintance beyond two or three casual meetings, then, and at the Hujamry. He seemed a shrewd and active naval officer, and the last who would be likely to lose a valuable ship under his command through criminal negligence. Whether the knowledge supplied by modern charts sufficed to have warned him of the danger to be

apprehended when crossing in front of the Gulf of Kutch, I know not; but it is strange enough that the locality is described with singular truth and accuracy in the Periplus.

Sailors are strange animals! They can never comprehend a landsman's thoughts of home. Their boats left the ships for shore, but no timely notice was given; and a few hurried lines were all that I could send to say what had occurred, and to explain our detention. A little after twelve o'clock fresh hawsers were received; and exactly at two o'clock in the afternoon they were secured, the anchor weighed, and we stood out of harbour a due north-west course, accomplishing four and a half knots per hour, against a rolling head-sea and an unvarying north-wester.

The crew of the Tapty, commanded by Lieutenant Buckler, Indian navy, was one European mate, and twenty-eight native seamen. The commander, by Government regulations, was to provide our table, for which the Government allowance was seventeen and a half rupees per diem for field-officers, and eight rupees each

for captains and subalterns. Our party comprised three of the former, and two of the latter; affording, therefore, sixty-eight and a half rupees per diem for provisioning expenses. We would gladly have voted our excellent host a double stipend; his treatment of us was kind and liberal in the extreme; and, his birthday occurring during the voyage, we did the honours of the day with the hearty alacrity that his unpretending goodness deserved from us.

The night past, and the morning found us in the open sea. Before us seemed to stand the steamer. Not a motion was perceptible in her masts and yards; their black lines streaked across the blue sky, as firmly fixed, to the eye, as though she had been at anchor; and yet the waves foamed and rolled past her as she ploughed her undeviating, unalterable course, with steady keel, through a turbulent sea, and directly against the wind, with a permanent and unchanging speed of about four and a half miles per hour. The naval diableries of the old sea-legends, the demon frigate, and the "shippe of helle," seemed, as it were, realized

before us. I was never tired of looking on it. Can it be, thought I, that in my own short era, in my own brief existence, this stupendous miracle of art has been conceived and created; and this mightiest of man's conquests over Nature achieved by the "knowledge which is power?"

Man, a little lower than the angels, has yet much to do. May God grant that his brute propensities may not again break forth to check the sublime progress of intellect in its developement, and involve the world in another age of darkness! The blessed instrumentality of the press appears sufficient to secure us from any such fearful catastrophe as the total extinction of the acquirements of thirty ages, under another barbaric desolation. But how much may man's advancement be checked by evils which knowledge cannot prevent, and refinement cannot imagine to be in existence, until they overwhelm the unthinking many, like an avalanche, and bury the existing fabric of society in the ruins they occasion.

The second morning found us in sight of

Diu Head, a round knoll, and lower undulating hills receding from it. The fort and town of Diu are still retained by the Portuguese, and should, with Goa, Demaun, and the settlements on the African coast, be purchased at almost any price, to be paid by our Government. To the Portuguese they were an expensive burthen, until our Malwa opium monopoly, with the usual effect of over-high customs, offered a sufficiently high premium to the smuggler to convey his illicit trade from Malwa, through Marwar, to Sind. The value of the opium embarked at Kurachy for Demaun has exceeded sixteen lahks of rupees per annum. A reduction of the duty has reduced the illicit trade, but it is still important. Our new relation with Sind must reduce Demaun and Goa to their former insignificance; and it would be no mean policy to secure the possessions, which among other evils, accustom the natives to the sight of a foreign European flag, and tend to direct their thoughts to a foreign European power.

The Asiatic character in general, and the

Hindoo in particular, is compounded of intrigue and *tracasserie*, — not because they are Asiatics and Hindoos, but because they are so educated; and they are only to be depended on so far as they see their own interests, and feel the power of their masters. Our future repose indispensably requires that no foreign flag should wave in India.

But it is as nests of the wretched slave-trade, for which alone the Portuguese settlements of the Mozambique exist, that they ought to be dispossessed, by fair means, if possible; if not, by foul: we can never prevent the importation of African slaves at Diu, Demaun, and Goa, from Africa, except by an expenditure beyond what the purchase of these unproductive colonies would amount to. Diu is a regular fortification, and holds a conspicuous place in the early history of European settlements in India; but is now a wretched place, with a paltry establishment, and the few survivors of its former population miserably poor. Several lofty church-towers are seen, as at Goa, Basseen, and Demaun, above the ramparts; and would seem to

indicate that the "milk-white hind," in her rambles on this coast, could not have been contented with a "voluntary system" share of the rich man's purse or the poor man's labour! A Portuguese naval officer at Goa once said to me, when admiring the cathedral architecture of the churches there, "If our ancestors had built forts, and trained battalions, as your early governments did, instead of wasting their resources on churches and on monks, we might have been what you are." Perhaps they might: but what is written, is written!

At noon of the second day we were exactly abreast of Somnath Puttan, whose ancient temple, dedicated to Shiva, as the "lord of the moon," was the object of Mahomed of Ghizni's first invasion of India in the eleventh century. The Moslem army entered Guzerat by Serohy, on the east side of Aboo; plundered and totally destroyed the ancient capital, Chandrawatty, at its base; and, proceeding to the coast of Kattiwar, secured the rich jewels and treasures of the temple. Our knowledge of what India was in our own time, allows us to give our modified

credence to the history of the incalculable wealth obtained by the plunderers. It was here that the Brahmin devotee offered a mass of gold that a shapeless idol of stone might not be desecrated, and which the iconoclast zeal of the Mahomedan leader ordered instantly to be destroyed: on its flying in pieces under the hammers of the destroyers, it was found to be hollow, and a treasure in precious stones concealed in the cavity, that far overbalanced what had been offered for its preservation. The army of Mahomed of Ghizni was almost totally destroyed by want of water, in an incautious attempt to cross the desert betwixt Guzerat and Bawulpore, on their return.

Our third morning found us abreast of Pore Bunder, the cloud-topt pinnacles of the hill of Joonaghur in the far distance. These mountains are dedicated to the Parasnath worship of the Jains, and are celebrated for their ancient temples. Similar temples are to be found in Aboo and Paliatanah. We have lost all knowledge of the period when the fairy tribes had their temples and altars in Pagan Europe; but

the similarity of the name, and of the legendary history of their demi-celestial race in Europe and in Guzerat, seems to mark the accuracy of the traditions which bring the Gothic races from India. "The sons of God, loving the daughters of men, and their children becoming mighty men, which were of old men of renown," is the unvarying legend of the origin of every distinguished tribe in India, whilst the name Paradise itself sounds to my ear only as Parăsdeish—hill-god country, or fairy land.

From Kattiwar to Rajpootana, the two great families of Rajpoots claim their origin; the one from the sun, the other from the moon. The Sooraj Wamsh, or children of the sun, are, I believe, the prevailing caste in this peninsula; and it is among them that the revolting practices of infanticide have thrown the deepest shade that has fallen on human nature in any age or in any country.

Our voyage this day was very interesting: the bold headlands and mountain scenery of the coast gave us every moment a changing view; and our course, within three miles from the

land, allowed us the fullest opportunities of enjoying it.

At noon, the pagoda of Dwarka appeared far ahead, and where we should not have looked for land, precisely like the white sail of a very large botilla: it required some time to persuade me that it was a building, and not a sail; its snow-white flag above the white-washed cupola had exactly the appearance of the botilla's vane. As we approached, the building slowly emerged from the sea, and was seen on its eminence, nothing different, except in size, from ordinary buildings of the kind,—a square temple of two stories, with a cupola in front, and behind it the usual Hindoo spire: around it, at irregular distances, appeared smaller temples, consisting chiefly of the tower and spire.

The view of this celebrated shrine of Krishna was singularly beautiful: we skirted close to the coast, and at sunset we were precisely abreast of the pagoda. Dwarka is more frequented by pilgrims than any shrine on the west coast of India; the Jatras are said at times to have exceeded half a million of devotees.

On one occasion, I believe in 1803, a contagious disease—apparently, from the description, Egyptian plague—is said to have destroyed nearly one hundred thousand victims in a few days. When a similar pestilence was depopulating Pallee in 1837, the residents there described it to their friends in Guzerat as the most fearful epidemic which had fallen upon their race since the appalling destruction at Dwarka in 1803. The pilgrim, who faithfully performs all his duties at Dwarka, submits, as the final penance, to be branded with the mark of the god; and is supposed to remain, for the residue of his life, in the sacred care of Krishna.

The wind had been rising through the day, and at night it blew a stiff breeze, with a high sea rolling: our scuttles required to be closed, and we had some motion, but it was nothing beyond the very ordinary average of marine adventures. We held our course unchanged, and the steady masts of the steamer scarcely showed a motion against the blue sky before us. In the night, however, some accident, probably owing to the increased motion, seemed to occur

to the steamer's engines; and, after having diminished her speed from near five to two and a half miles per hour, she suddenly stopped. Some confusion followed, owing to the several vessels in tow becoming entangled: the Arab bugla came in contact with the Tapty, and the boat hanging on the quarter had a very narrow escape from utter destruction; happily she was shoved off before any injury of consequence was done; and in less than an hour the steamer resumed her way, and her train followed in their proper places, without inconvenience to each other.

The fourth morning was mild and calm; we found the effects of attaining a more northern latitude, in a bracing, cool air; the sea was still, and no land in sight: at noon, the sea was smoother than I remember ever to have seen it; but, smooth or rough, wind or calm, on we went, ploughing our steady course at the same rate, and with no change to us but the comfort of diminished motion.

During the day a shoal of whales played round us, raising their leviathan carcasses above

the water, and afforded our native passengers much surprise and amusement: one of them shot up his huge head and opened his mouth, apparently for the sole purpose of giving us an accurate idea of a whale's capability to swallow any Jonah we might have to dispose of. The sight was really fearful; the dimensions of the crimson cavern which yawned before us, appearing to require only some vivacity of imagination, and the epic poetry of a traveller's narration, to magnify it into the gulf of the sea-serpent's maw and its horrific profundities! A similar "Protean herd" is described by Arrian as having greatly alarmed the Greek mariners under Nearchus.

At half an hour before midnight we anchored; the firing of signal-guns disturbed our rest, and warned us that the termination of our voyage was approaching. At daybreak of the fifth day, Tuesday, November 27th, two ships were seen under sail very near us, and proved to be the Syden and Sir Edward Paget, transports; we remained at anchor from midnight until near eight o'clock in the morning, when the steamer

was again under way, and we proceeded on our course.

Our first view of the Indus water was a buffy line across the horizon, presenting to the inexperienced eye the precise appearance of a sandbank; this, as we approached, was shown to be the discoloration where the river-flood mingled with the sea. The water was smooth, and the wind from the land; and the two large transports sailing with us were making way with a favourable spurt of wind, and with every sail set that they could carry.

At nine o'clock the vessels at anchor at the Hujamry mouth of the Indus were descried ahead, and at twelve o'clock the steamer anchored near the Palinurus; nothing of land was to be seen but the long low sandbank, and a beacon landmark, built apparently to about four feet high of pile-work, with a lozenge-shaped target at the summit. A more dreary prospect was never exhibited; and considering, as we may, that, excepting what the Portuguese may have done, ours is probably the first armament which has appeared to force a way up the

Indus since the fleet of Nearchus sailed out, two thousand years ago, we may safely conjecture in addition, that a more unpromising coast for the disembarkation of an army has been seldom approached or left since that day by any fleet of transports.

About twenty country boats, averaging probably from twenty-five to thirty tons, were prepared for the disembarkation; and the Hannah, which had first arrived with the Engineer Corps, was cleared of every individual, and every article shipped on board her, in a few hours. Buoys and landmarks were placed to guide the boats into the river, whose low muddy banks were scarcely perceptible above the water: the boats sailing in were seen winding their way into the interior, following the tortuous course of what seemed to be the most crooked river in the world. A village of fishermen's huts appeared about five miles inland, and many masts of small vessels in every part of the river.

The two ships we had passed in the morning came slowly in with the evening sea-breeze and

anchored near us; and orders were instantly issued for the disembarkation of the 2nd or Queen's Royals, and the 5th regiment of Native Infantry. The more early arrival of our transports than we had expected, and the facility with which the Engineer Corps had been disembarked, seemed to show that difficulties had been anticipated which we had not found, and gave us fair hopes for the future.

Our approach to this coast was not without its favourable omen: two native boats, laden chiefly with female passengers, proceeding on a caste wedding errand to Mandavie, in Kutch, were, through misfortune or mismanagement, upset on the bar of the Indus; the Hannah transport had anchored in sight, and her boats were immediately lowered to assist the sufferers. Through the strenuous exertions of Captain M'Gregor of that vessel, and Lieutenant Carless of the Indian navy, who was fortunately on board, every individual of the crews and passengers of the two botillas was saved. The natural feelings of British seamen were new to the natives of Sind, and such

alacrity in personal exposure and labour for the benefit of strangers was inexplicable. "You have come," said the chief matron of the rescued party, "to conquer Sind; and, God is great! you deserve to conquer it."

It has since been Captain M'Gregor's fortune to be wrecked himself, and his good ship the Hannah lost, almost on the same spot where we anchored; the shifting sands of the river having thrown up a bank, where this officer, the most experienced person we had, and the best acquainted with this coast, had often passed with ten fathoms' water. No man of his class can be more respected or esteemed than Captain M'Gregor, and all sympathized with him in his heavy misfortune when the news of the occurrence reached Bombay.

### THE HUJAMRY.

November 27th, 1838.—The Paget transport, having on board the 5th regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, anchored in the Hujamry a few minutes before sunset, followed by the Syden with her Majesty's 2nd Royals. As

these vessels anchored, the regimental drums beat off for sunset,—the first British drums on the Indus.

As the sun went down where the Indus' flood
Rolls forth its turbid and troubled water,
And Ocean recoils for many a rood
Earth-stain'd by the mighty tribute brought her,
Our anchors were dropt, our masts were bare,
We had reach'd the renowned stream of Ind,
Our freight was a host, and our only care
To discharge that freight on the shore of Sind.

At that sunset hour, o'er the Indus' water,
First echo'd the roll of the British drum:
What boded that drum? did it breathe out slaughter,
And ruin, and wrath, and wrong to come?
Scarce a ripple was heard on the rising tide,
Scarce a breath in air; all was still, save the rattle
Of that stern drum, and it spake in its pride
Of all that precedes and follows battle.

'Twas the evening drum of the sunset hour;
And welcome its peal of duty done
To the soldier in camp or castled tower,
Wherever his tent or garrison.
To us 'twas no more than the wonted sound,
And unheeded it fell on the listener's ear,
As due to the hour; and his fancy found
No startling presage of hope or fear.

But what said the angel of Sind, who hung
  Self-poised in air, enthroned in cloud,
When the British drum for the first time rung
  On the Indus' flood its alarum loud?
Rejoiced he, or sigh'd he, that angel form?
  Was his heavenly glance in joy or sorrow
When he thought of the past? was it calm or storm
  His prophetic view beheld for the morrow?

I've been young, and am old, and my life hath been
  Where at morn and eve hath peal'd that drum;
Nor hath my ear heard, nor my eye yet seen,
  That England's rule boded ruin and gloom.
It hath spread o'er the land, none knoweth how,—
  It hath sunk its deep root, none knoweth whither;
And every opponent hath bow'd him low
  Before the decree that brought it hither.

And was it, this mighty marvel, rear'd
  For good or for ill? was its ample verge
Thrown to the winds to be loved or fear'd,—
  As the blessed boon, or the scorpion scourge?
Look'd the Genius of Ind from the Himla's snows
  On Mahomed of Ghizni's muster morn
With a smile of joy? Guzerat still shows
  What follow'd the blast of the Moslem horn!

From Chandrapati, destroy'd and burn'd,
  To Somnath Puttan in Kattywar,
That land-flood of ruin o'erwhelm'd and upturn'd
  Whatever it met in its ruthless war;

And every lava-gush that hath burst
From the wild volcanoes of Khorasân,
Thro' eight hundred years that the Moslem hath curst
The neighbouring regions of Hindustan,

Have been but the robbers' frantic foray,
Have left no trace but the robbers' ruin ;
And the Genius of Ind on the Himalay
Hath wept o'er his people's blood and undoing.
When raised the Maratha his dingy flag,
And trampled the Moslem under foot,
By each river stream, and each castled crag,
From Southern Mysore to Paniput,

Did the stern Gossain, whom Shivaji's race
Assembled and led in their conquering course,
Heal the festering wounds ? was there balm in the trace
The Dhakani left of his charging horse ?
Ah ! woe for the timid subdued Hindu !
The bandit chief and his soldiery
Seek only to reap what the weaker sow,
And mock at their victim's misery.

No gain to the peasant behind his plough,—
No peace to the cot,—no sheltering tree
For the injured to seek repose below,
Appear'd in the native dynasty.
But what said the Genius of Ind when stood
The first of England's sons on the strand,
Like the Patriarch fording thro' Jordan's flood,
A lonely man with but staff in hand ?

Predestined was he to a happier hour,—
And thus was our England's red-cross banner
Foreseen in her future pomp of power,
When the Genius of Ind first look'd upon her.
He saw the Moslem's destroying sword
To reddening fires for the plough-share given;
He saw the Pendari's scattering horde
From the groaning land like the wild wolves driven.

He saw the mysterious Thagis trade,
The fearfullest stain of blood that e'er fell
On the wondering world, unveil'd, display'd,
And the gibbet adorn'd with the dogs of hell!
He saw the funeral fire redeem'd
From the Sutee's abhorr'd self-sacrifice;
And the Rajput's child more dear esteem'd
To the state, than she seem'd in her parents' eyes.

Who saith that our England hath nothing done
For this Eastern world? Oh! 'tis falsely said!
When all that the sun now rises on
Sees rapine subdued, and murder stay'd.
But hath England done all—is her mission ended?
Oh no! oh no! she hath yet to brighten
The moral darkness with miseries blended,
"To bind up and heal,—to lift up and enlighten."

Doth the Genius of Ind, surveying his land,
See this in fair progress? Ah woe! 'tis true,
The harvest is ripe, but our first-fruits stand
Scarce touch'd in the field by the labourers few!

The harvest's Lord in his own good time
Will call to the work the master-spirits ;
Nor think ye that Truth, in its march sublime,
Shall pause till all Ind its fruit inherits.

But ye, by whose mandate our British drum
First sent its loud roll o'er the Indus' water,
Distinguish ye signs of the time to come
In what Ind displays of all Truth hath taught her ?
Oh, blind to the future, if drum and sword
Be all that your vision contemplate !
May the warning voice not remain unheard,
Till the warning voice shall be heard too late.

## CHAPTER II.

Services of Mr. Farish as Governor of Bombay.—Capt. Outram's activity in procuring camels for the army.—Disembarkation.—Changing character of the channel of the Indus.—Capabilities of the harbour of Kurachy.—Native Fishery.—Astonishment of Natives at British punctuality of payment, when dominant.—The Aurora barque adrift.—Our Mate's joke upon the occasion.

THE Bombay Government were guided entirely by the Commander-in-chief in all that related to the date of his Excellency's departure, he having fixed the day himself, and in all their arrangements for the embarkation; and by Colonel Pottinger in all that referred to the disembarkation: and they were instructed by the Supreme Government to build their reliance chiefly on the Bengal commissariat; probably to save the expense and delays of

sending stores from Bombay by sea, and transporting them through Sind, when the same could be done in less time, and more economically, from the friendly fertile districts of the Punjaub.

These are facts that require to be known; for much obloquy was attempted to be cast on one of the ablest and most energetic men that ever presided over the Government of Bombay, accidentally, in a crisis of great importance and great difficulty. The lamented demise of Sir Robert Grant had made Mr. Farish, then senior member of Council, Governor of Bombay at this period; and no man ever brought more single-heartedness or right-mindedness, more industry, or more anxiety for the public good, to his high functions. The omission of his name,—when honours were conferred on Lords Auckland and Keane for services in which he was "an able coadjutor," and on Sirs —— M'Naughton and —— Pottinger, his juniors, and inferiors in capacity as well as in place, —was felt by all who know this truly good

man, and faithful servant of Government, a public injury.

I shall not detain the reader with all that was said on the subject of the departure of the troops from Bombay, nor respecting the site selected for the disembarkation. Sir Alexander Burns, who knew more of Sind and the Indus than any other person that could have been consulted, had recommended Kurachy as the point that should have been first occupied: but his superior knowledge and better judgment were overruled; and the strange project of sending the army by boats up the Indus was seriously, I believe, recommended and contemplated, until found impracticable. "The moral effect," as it was termed, of this river procession, progressing like the Lord Mayor's show, through Sind, was gravely enlarged on, and not abandoned until it was found that boats could not be procured in the Indus for the conveyance of the mere ordnance stores of the army. We afterwards learnt, with a painful experience, that, when procured, the laborious and tardy

navigation against the current rendered whatever was embarked on the river an impediment and a vexation.

The subsequent events most fully demonstrated that Kurachy should have been the point selected; and I have been told that Lord Keane himself, on his return, expressed the same opinion. I know personally that his instructions were to land on the left bank of the Hujamry, and that he selected the right bank himself, after previous inquiry on his arrival to ascertain whether any local cause rendered it necessary for the army to be designedly shut up in the *cul-de-sac* of the Delta.

A very large portion of the camels procured for the army were received from Kurachy, and were brought entirely through the activity and zeal of Captain Outram from thence to our camp at Bahminakote. Detachments of troops several months afterwards crossed from Kurachy to the Indus without difficulty or real inconvenience, or any of those fatigues and night marches which the army afterwards underwent without a remark or a complaint. As no resistance, how-

ever, was made, the serious evils that might have resulted were never felt, and the minor ones we did suffer were soon forgotten; and yet it is scarcely possible that any army can ever have disembarked on a foreign coast for whom so little of all the necessary preparations had been made by those whose duty it was to have made them.

The Agent for transports, whose duty it was to prepare for and superintend the reception of the fleet, and the collections of shore-boats for the disembarkation of the troops, did not arrive until the evening of the 30th November, exactly a week after the leading ship had anchored at the Hujamry.

The result of this had been, that the senior naval officer, Lieutenant Porter, could not take upon himself the risk of squabbles with skippers, and the hazards of insurance responsibilities. The commanders of the transports were uncontrolled, and did what seemed best in their own eyes; anchored where they pleased, and where they fancied they were safest, and at such distances as added greatly to the exposure

of the troops in landing, and delayed exceedingly the most important of all military operations, the immediate collection of a force sufficient for its own protection. An enemy in front would have exposed the character of our proceedings in its true light.

The Agent for transports appeared late at night on the 30th November, and the next morning presented the busy scene which ought to have commenced some days before. The ships' boats, which had remained idle, were now ordered out; an increased number of shore-boats were obtained; and the disembarkation, which had previously been left to the skippers of the transports, or the commanding officers of regiments, commenced in earnest, under the supervision of an experienced naval officer.

Nothing could be more contradictory than the statements which first reached us respecting the disposition of the Government of the country: on the one hand it was evident that open hostility was not meditated, as the shore-boats appeared to disembark the troops; but then, on the contrary, no supplies were ready, or, as it

seemed, procurable; and the Resident's assistant, Lieutenant Eastwick, on his journey from Hydrabad, had been insulted and pelted as he disembarked at Tattah. The Ameers were described as having held a Durhbar with Colonel Pottinger, to have appeared in armour, shown a haughty demeanour, and used a high tone of pretension and defiance. Under any circumstances, their wishes went for nothing: the disembarkation of the troops, and provisions for two months, to be independent of the shore bazaars, was vigorously carried on; and General Wiltshire formed his camp, with the 2nd Queen's Royals and 5th regiment of Native Infantry, on the west shores of the Indus, about fourteen miles from the anchorage, and five miles below Vikkur.

The average time occupied by the boats employed in the disembarkation was about six hours betwixt the ships and the camp; and it required a whole day for a fleet of boats to arrive from Vikkur, take a freight of men and their baggage, and return to the camp. The shore-boats were small botillas, of nearly the

same build as the Guzerat boats, except that the stern is loftier and stronger; the sides are built up with bamboo-work, and the sail is nothing more than a large simple sheet, unaltered since the date of Nearchus: the average tonnage seems to have been about eighty kandies, or twenty tons, though some appeared about double that size.

The capabilities of the Hujamry mouth of the Indus for navigation seem to have been underrated. The large pattimars from Bombay, of three hundred to four hundred kandies, having on board from twenty to twenty-five horses each, went over the bar at the mouth of the river at half-flood without any injury or accident whatever: this proved of the most essential importance, as the landing of the cavalry horses, by trans-shipping them from the large boats to smaller ones, to be conveyed up the river, *as it was expected would have been necessary*, would have been a tedious process, and must have been attended with infinite labour and many accidents. The soundings on the bar gave nine feet at low water, with a rise of

nine feet at flood; and the depth of the river within the bar as far as the camp, which was below the upper bar, near Vikkur, gave nowhere less than fifteen feet at low water. This is very far superior to the navigable capabilities of the Tapty or the Nurbudda. But the ever-changing channel of the Indus leaves no certainty in any one season, or even month, of what it is likely to be the next: the vast quantity of silt with which the waters are loaded forms, in some operations of the weather and the stream, a bank here and a bar there, which other operations of the same antagonist powers remove, and lodge elsewhere; and deny the Indus, like the Nile, any safely navigable outlet.

Whenever our system of commercial intercourse shall have come into operation; when our troops have insured the security of the river, and our expenditure has produced a new aspect in the markets, and of the "circulating medium;" when our merchants have established agencies in Sind, and the Punjaub, and Afghanistan, and the trade is really what it ought to be, and must become, if no political error inter-

vene, we shall be compelled to look to Kurachy as the Alexandria of the Indus, the emporium of the river, and of the vast region to which it opens the communication. The harbour of Kurachy is at once a good haven, and rightly situated; and a very trifling outlay would reopen the old outlet of the Garra Creek, and enable this Alexandria for the valley of the Indus and its tributaries, and for all Central Asia, to become, next to Bombay, the most important position on the western coast of India.

A subsequent knowledge of Kurachy harbour has made me wonder that its value was never ascertained during the war, and the place resorted to by French cruisers from the Mauritius. One or two frigates appear in 1808 and 1809 to have nearly done what they pleased in the Indian seas; and seem to have required only the refuge of some such haven as Kurachy for wood, water, and provisions, to have completed the blockade of Bombay, or at all events to have interrupted its communication with the Persian Gulf. As respects the future, the cot-

ton and indigo of Sind, and the wool and madder of Kaubool, are bulky as well as valuable articles; and will require many, very many thousand tons of shipping, and must ere long add essentially to the coast and foreign trade of Bombay.

The absence of sea-birds forms a singular trait in the character of the Indian seas; scarcely a single living thing appeared in the sky above, or the sea below, betwixt Bombay and the Indus. The gigantic albatros and the sea-pigeons roam to many hundred miles from the coast of Africa; here, within four miles of the muddy banks, only a very few sea-birds hovered round us. By the help of glasses, we could discover flocks of flamingoes on the distant beach, but they never travelled seaward.

The fleets of fishing-boats only on one occasion brought us fish fit for food: this was not the fault of the fishery, as was afterwards ascertained in the days of peace at Kurachy, but the unsettled state of the country, and the ignorance of the poor fishermen of our punctuality in payment; a proceeding, by the stronger party

toward the weaker, so apparently unnatural to a Sindian, that it was the most difficult to their comprehension of all our peculiarities. They described the shoals of cod to be migratory; that on some occasions a single boat would take a hundred in a night, and that at other periods not a dozen in a week.

The cod-sounds, described as the lungs or air-vessels of the fish, are cut out, and the fish itself thrown away, not being eatable: these sounds are dried, and sold at the rate of three for a rupee, for exportation to China. When dried, they are like lumps of glue; and form, with the gummy birds' nests, and shark-fins, &c. the glutinous luxury of the Chinese gourmands, who seem ignorant of the simple fact that all gluten of animal matter may be boiled down to any particular consistence required, and that the strength of the jelly that results depends upon the quantity and the boiling. In reference to this market, the salop misri of Ghizni, a bulbous root not unlike a small turnip, and dried in the sun for exportation, will be a valu-

able article, forming a finer and richer jelly than arrow-root or sago.

His Excellency the Commander-in-chief soon found that he had left Bombay ten days sooner than he had any occasion for. Had he sent the steamer with troops, and the Agent for transports, and allowed her to return for himself and personal staff, he would have found on his arrival that he had something to do beyond being a spectator of the disembarkation: as it was, he detained the steamer merely for his personal accommodation, he remaining on board, and she at anchor, from November 27th to December 3rd; whereas, had he waited a fortnight in Bombay, it might have brought and landed a regiment, and been sent to Mandavie to bring up the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry and Foot Artillery during that period, and then have returned to Bombay and brought up his Excellency again, before the camp on shore could have been formed and prepared for any forward movement.

The most important contingencies of a har-

bour, and in maritime insurance generally, appear to hinge on singularly uncertain and apparently trifling occurrences. On the evening of the 30th November, the Aurora barque, of six hundred tons, sailed up to our anchorage, and tried to take up a position; on reaching a spot betwixt the Malcolm and Lady East, transports, the wind, which had been dying away, suddenly fell calm, a strong tide running, and driving her on the Malcolm. The latter veered out her chain-cable as far as she could, and the Aurora let go her foresail aback, to get what wind she could to give her stern-way, and thus barely cleared the Malcolm; but from thence she drifted on the Tapty. We veered out all the cable we had, and she in like manner barely cleared our head, and drifted past us, nearly grazing our sides; and, but for great alacrity and management in bracing the yards, her jib-boom would have carried away some of our rigging. It was really a situation of some anxiety and excitement; and as the wind was all but perfect calm, and the Aurora was a mere hulk on the

tide, our escape was evidently more good luck than good management.

Jack Tar, under all circumstances, must have his joke. As this huge hulk drifted slowly past us, and barely cleared us, the commotion and outcry on her decks, crowded with her Majesty's 17th regiment, was one wild scene of confusion and clamour: in our little gun-brig not a breath was heard but the word of command, and the footsteps of those who obeyed it. When the danger was over, "A particular precious pretty fellow, that 'ere Captain Figgins!" said our mate: "I wish to goodness that his mother did but know that he was out!"

## CHAPTER III.

Evils of superfluous Baggage.—The Remedy.—Details of the Disembarkation.—Loss of a botilla, with sixteen artillery-horses: the Crew saved.—Passage of our party up the river to the Camp.—Our anchors.—Occupation while at anchor.—Critical situation of a large botilla.—Landing of our party.—Hujamry branch of the Indus.—Importance of Kurachy.—Advantages to be expected from opening the navigation of the Indus.

THE disembarkation of an army on a hostile coast must be considered as an operation that levels all distinctions, everything except the soldier and his arms being an encumbrance; so that the officer can only land as the private lands, with his equipments in his hands or on his back, and his mess-provisions attended to by the general commissariat. This must no

doubt have been the routine of the Peninsular expeditions; and in such cases an army of fifty thousand men would have been moved with greater facility than a division of six thousand men can stir in India.

The difference of climate must make no trifling addition to the baggage of an army within the tropics; but, without reference to that essential difference, the quantity of unnecessary tents and furniture which appear in the train of an Indian camp forms the most serious impediments to its movements.

The remedy for this would of course be a general order, dispensing with the muster of tents when on field-service; prohibiting more than one small tent for every two or four officers, as the case may be more or less emergent, and a slight increase to be granted by Government to the mess-allowance of regiments on field-service, to secure a mess-establishment on a sufficient footing to be able to afford loans of necessaries to officers who may be detached, and save the incumbrance and expense of each individual being burthened with a camp-case,

liquor-baskets, &c. and additional servants of his own. The hospital stores, too, are quadruple what is necessary; and the fact that regiments carry large slipper-baths of copper and block tin, will at once show our disregard to that species of efficiency which depends on light baggage. The commissariat train surpasses all estimate, and would far exceed the belief of such officers as had never witnessed the operations of an Indian army.

As respects the ordnance, there can be no question but that our artillery would decide the fate of any action we should now be involved in. But it seems strange that this arm should be increasing in strength and expensiveness precisely as our position seems strengthened; and that, too, whilst our infantry, so indispensably necessary for even the mere militia and police routine duties of our provinces, have been reduced below the actual calls of those subordinate duties. The artillery corps of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay form a force which exceeds (especially the most expensive, the horse-artillery) the whole Royal Artillery of Great

Britain at that period of emergency, in 1812, when the whole of Europe was in arms, and Napoleon in his saddle to destroy us. This is that species of household management observable in certain families, where the servants are denied wholesome food; but the liveries are gorgeous and the plate *magnifique*, and the picture-gallery and statues worth a hundred thousand pounds!

The disembarkation of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus would have been a very different affair, had there been the slightest shadow of resistance in front; but, with nothing save the passive opposition of natural obstacles, our course was attended with no serious difficulties.

Between thirty and forty country boats, equal to carrying from fifty to one hundred men each, were ready for the use of the army. The ships anchored within two miles of the outer bar, in smooth water; the shore-boats lay alongside, and received a few tons of baggage and their complement of men, and made the voyage from the anchorage to the camp in one or two tides,

as the wind proved more or less favourable. Thus every regiment was easily disembarked in two days.

The 23rd regiment, which left Mandavie in Kutch on the 30th November, reached the anchorage on the 3rd December, and next day the botillas crossed the bar at high water; but being the largest class of country boats, of one hundred tons, their progress up the river required two days. Still, even these experienced no inconvenience from want of water, when the usual precautions were used of forbearing to attempt shallows, except at high water.

One large botilla from Bombay, having on board sixteen valuable horses of the horse-artillery, was grounded on the bar from a foolish attempt to cross, by means of a favourable sea-breeze, against ebb-tide. The result was a complete wreck, and the loss of the horses, valued at nearly nine thousand rupees. The crew and people, including some women and children, followers of the men in attendance on the horses, were all saved. This unfortunate occurrence was the only accident of the disembarka-

tion, and was unquestionably owing to mismanagement. Finally, we were favoured by Providence with nearly a whole month of unvarying mild weather, during the critical period in which it was so essentially necessary at the anchorage, a perfectly open roadstead.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief left the steamer at nine o'clock A. M. of the 3rd December, in the cutter of the Malcolm, and was rowed up the river to camp. The military staff either accompanied him, or were in the launch of the Tapty. Our whole party from the Tapty had intended to go up at the same time; but we were disappointed in the accommodation boat promised us. Colonel Campbell and Major Keith, therefore, only could be provided with a passage, and the medical department remained till next day.

On the 4th, the Reverend Mr. Pigott, chaplain, Dr. Don, deputy medical storekeeper, and the writer of this memoir, left the Tapty in a country fishing-boat, of about ten tons' burthen, manned by an old man and two young Sindians. The wind was strong and adverse, with as much

swell and commotion of the sea as we had experienced since our arrival. We left the Tapty at nine o'clock, and proceeded to beat to windward to cross the bar. In this operation three tacks were made to starboard and three to larboard, crossing and re-crossing the bar, and actually going about and making the tack on the very bar itself, in less than a fathom water; and yet even under these circumstances, of a fresh breeze and a swell from the sea, we had no perilous surf, and no further motion than simply the rocking and tossing to and fro, sufficient to unsettle the stomach of a landsman. We twice passed close to the masts of the wrecked horse-boat, the white flag at the mast-head still waving as gaily in the wind as when she weighed anchor on the voyage thus doomed to be her last.

At half-past twelve o'clock the tide had turned, and our aged helmsman warned us of the necessity of anchoring; but we pressed him to try to make further progress, and the result was that we were obliged to anchor where it

was not quite safe, about half a mile south of the second buoy. Here the motion at anchor was excessive; and, as the tide receded, it was soon clear that our anchor dragged, and that we were slowly but certainly drifting upon breakers. Our people were preparing to drop another anchor; but as we were already within reach of the long roll from the bar and breakers, and our position dangerous, we advised them to weigh anchor, and make sail back with the falling tide, so as to move into deeper water. This was easily done; and at half past one o'clock we anchored about a furlong west of the second buoy, in fifteen feet water.

Our anchors are worthy of record. One was an iron grapnel of eight teeth, a very fair article of the kind; but the other two were huge flat stones, about thirty inches long, twenty broad, and three thick, perforated with two holes, one for the cable, and the other for a strong stick to be jammed through to act as an anchor-fluke, and give the flat stone a hold on the bottom. They probably weighed two hun-

dredweight each; and, being both of them dropt with the grapnel, our little skiff rode out the tide and wind in safety.

Our occupation, to pass the dreary hours on a rolling sea and under a burning sun in an open boat, was characteristic of civil life. A volume of Cowper's poems being available, one of the party read for the amusement of the others; and the opposite styles of John Gilpin, and the poem on receiving his mother's picture, with other dips into the "well of English undefiled," were sufficient to make us forget the disagreeables of our situation on the muddy current of the Indus.

Once or twice a singular appearance of the water was observable, apparently as if the antagonist powers of the river-flood and the ocean-tide were alternately prevailing. The superior strength of the river was marked by a sudden rush of the water in a short dancing current, with tumultuous little waves breaking and bubbling like a boiling cauldron, rushing past with a hissing noise; whilst the sea-wave was a long, heavy, massy undulation, rolling inward in a

long sweeping body of water, and breaking in foam as it ended with the roar of the breakers like distant thunder.

About two o'clock, a large Bombay botilla, which had anchored near us, sent a small boat to make inquiries from our people respecting the channel, and the place where they were anchored. The tide had already left them with only two feet water to spare; and, as it was falling fast, they had every reason to expect that in an hour more they would ground. Happily the wind had fallen calm, and there was little motion, or the vessel must have struck the ground. The poor people in the botilla were doing all they could, sending out an anchor in their boat, and warping into deeper water; but nothing could have saved them,—they had anchored on the very perilous edge of the bar,—had not the sea-breeze most providentially set in for their rescue at the very crisis of their fate. At half-past four o'clock, just as it was apparent that the poor botilla was grounding, the sea-breeze set in, softly sweet to us who were roasting in the sun, and as a redeeming angel

to the crew of the botilla. They instantly spread their immense sail, and in ten minutes advanced a couple of furlongs, and were safe.

We had been in no danger; but the fair wind, and balmy air following, after five hours' exposure to the sultry sun and glare from the water, were abundantly refreshing. In a moment our anchor and stones were lifted up, and our sail spread; and in less than half an hour we lost all sense of the sea-swell, and found ourselves on the placid, lake-like waters of the river. Vast mud-banks extended as far as the eye could reach on each hand, and flocks of sea and river birds were feeding in fellowship upon them; the gigantic flamingo, and the larger and smaller species of gull, with ducks and teal in great numbers.

The contrast betwixt our evening and morning course was like an age of retirement in ease and honour, after a youth of trial, labour, and endurance. As sweet and soft a zephyr as ever shook the blossoms of a twilight grove when love, and joy, and hope were meeting, filled our sail; and the water through which we glided

without the sense of motion, was as glassy beneath as a village pond, and scarcely disturbed to a ripple even by our passing through it.

But we had not eaten since breakfast; and as the sun set we betook ourselves to our basket of provender, and had the gratification of a hearty meal to close right comfortably the discomforts of the day. The failing breeze rendered it necessary to anchor. No night-gear could be donned in a small open boat; but we made the best arrangement we could, and wooed repose.

When we were awoke at a quarter past two o'clock after midnight we found our vessel was secured to the bank, and the tents of our encampment appeared in thé full moonlight within one hundred yards of us. Nothing could be more delightful than the landing; stepping from the boat to the bank on a dry firm ground, and hearing immediately that our baggage-bòats had arrived from Bombay; that our tents were pitched, and all prepared for our reception. Our beds were instantly removed from

the boat to the tents, and in less than an hour the boat and the sea-swell were forgotten in sleep; and our first night on shore in the land of Sind was of the most refreshing repose.

The Hujamry branch of the Indus appeared at our place of encampment about as broad as the Thames at Battersea, and had very much the same appearance on its banks — low, flat, and muddy. Nothing can exceed the tortuousness of its course from the sea, to where it diverges from the main branch, a few miles below Tatta; the bends of the river returning after long reaches to almost the identical spot from whence the last winding commenced. The depth of water both at the entrance and up the river far exceeds the capabilities of the Mhye or Tapty, or even the Nurbudda, for navigation; and the British Government appear to have been gathering husks in India, and overlooking the kernel here, in not having made an earlier demonstration to secure the advantages it must have offered them.

Depôts of stores and well-equipped detachments at Kurachy, and Sukkur, and Dera Ishmael Khan, will not only place the navigation of the whole river in perfect security, but form an invincible barrier to an invading army from the west: not that the Indus is to be relied on as "a wet ditch, full of water," like the moat of Ghizni; but as a canal for the easy and cheap conveyance of heavy ordnance and ammunition, and other military stores, to the scene of action, where an invading army would find a well-equipped artillery, which no expenditure could enable them, under any circumstances, to meet upon anything like terms of equality. Too great a value cannot possibly be placed on the possession of the harbour of Kurachy, whether as a military and naval station, or in a political and commercial view; and every thing that our Government can do should be done without delay, to improve and strengthen it. It is the key of Sind and the Indus, and of the approaches, either military or commercial, to Central Asia. A lighthouse on the headland of Manoora, and a pier on

piles at the landing-place, are the first desiderata. The second and third will be the improvement of the Garra Creek, and a canal to re-unite it to the Indus, to make Kurachy what it was in the days of Alexander, on the western outlet of the Indus.

We may now, at least, hope that the noble canal of this immense river is open for twelve hundred miles, to the rich regions of the Punjaub and Kaubool, and that the port of Bombay may become the emporium of an important traffic, conveyed along its waters, not inferior eventually to what Calcutta now receives from the Ganges. The opening of the navigation of the Ganges formed the greatness of Calcutta, and combined with the superior advantages of Bombay to destroy Surat, which then ceased to be the emporium of European trade with the kingdom of the Mogul. The opening of the Indus can only affect the inland trade westward; and even there it admits of most plausible argument that, whilst the regions of Central Asia, by exporting their raw products of wool, and dying drugs, and gums, will be enabled to im-

port a thousand-fold beyond the experience of past ages, the vast influx of wealth will increase, and not diminish, the present trade in furs and other Russian produce exchanged for the shawls of Cashmere.

## CHAPTER IV.

Duplicity of the Ameers of Sind. — Passive resistance. — Detention of the Army from want of camels and boats. —Suicide of a young Officer.—March of the Army.— Julalkote.—Perfection of Military Engineering.—Sumarakote.—Eight deaths from Cholera.—Western branch of the Indus.—Native Irrigation.—Shrine of Peer Putta. —Changed character of our road.—Ruins of an ancient City.—Tatta ; its present decayed state.—Encampment there. — Immense cemetery. — A Beloochy smuggler, attempting to escape, is shot by the sentry.—Meditations in the cemetery.

THE Ameers of Sind, though too conscious of their inability to resist the landing of the army to offer any open hostility, were too far from being gratified with the presence of British troops in the country to omit every species of covert and passive resistance in their power. Thus, boundless promises were made without the slightest intention of fulfilling any part thereof; and their underlings in every depart-

ment, and every district and village, were made fully aware of their wishes: and these were most fully carried into effect by deceiving and misleading the Quarter-master General's department; by misinforming and thwarting the commissariat; and generally by that process of denying nothing, and yet of supplying nothing, and rendering it necessary for the army at times to carry even grass for the cavalry horses, which, though it offered no handle for complaint, was felt more injuriously than open hostility. A bitter reckoning will, no doubt, follow for this mistaken policy; which, in an idle attempt to trim betwixt fear of opposing and unwillingness to assist, has actually thrown away the shield, and yet made the sword necessary.

Our halt on the bank of the Hujamry was prolonged to December 24, solely from the want of camels and boats, which had been promised to be ready against our arrival. These were not only not ready, but the local authorities at Kurachy had prevented the merchants from sending eight hundred camels which they

had engaged with the commissariat to supply; and the Ameers of Meerpore had, with less-disguised opposition, actually detained six hundred camels on route from Kutch to join the army.

The unparalleled activity and energies of Captain Outram had been devoted in aid of those who ought to have foreseen and provided against these difficulties. He left the anchorage at the Hujamry, and proceeded to Mandavie; whence he travelled to Bhooj, and laboured at the Kutch Durhbar to carry points which should neither have been left to this late hour, nor yet left to his management. Having surpassed all expectation in what he was able to effect, he re-embarked at Mandavie, and sailed to Kurachy, where he landed, and travelled across the country, and rejoined us at Tatta. To him chiefly, if not entirely, is to be ascribed the merit that on the 22nd it was reported that a sufficient number of camels had been assembled: and orders were issued for the army to march in two divisions; the first consisting of half the cavalry and artillery, and second brigade of infantry, on the 24th; the second

division, or remainder of the force, under General Wiltshire, on the 26th, with the intention to reach Tatta in four marches.

Four large flat-bottomed boats, estimated to be capable of containing forty each, were appropriated for the conveyance of the sick; but at the moment of embarkation, though a fifth small boat was with some difficulty procured, the sick of the fourth troop of horse-artillery, which corps was not intended to move for some days, were obliged to be left behind. Field-surgeon Pinhey, with two assistant surgeons, and a full complement of hospital establishment, was appointed to the charge of the floating hospital.

A more noisy scene of bustle and confusion was never exhibited than the distribution of the camels. One thousand five hundred were supplied for the commissariat by a Hindoo Sind merchant, Nao Mull, long connected with the British Government as native agent of the Government at Kurachy: the hire of these was fixed at about eighteen rupees, Bombay currency, per month; with a stipulation that Go-

vernment should pay fifty rupees for each that should perish by peril of the enemy or catastrophes of war. There were further upwards of six hundred camels sent by the Raow, or chief of Kutch, in charge of a Jemidar, and hired on the same terms.

In such an assemblage some, of course, were good for nothing: of eight assigned to myself, three were literally incompetent to any labour; and, instead of each being equal to disposing of four hundredweight, I found it next to impossible to start my baggage, which would not in Guzerat have been too much for six camels. It cost my servants and the poor camels nearly five hours to load and start them.

At half-past nine o'clock they at last commenced my first march in Sind; and I shall not easily forget the scene of turmoil, and no little vexation, which accompanied this tedious and most noisy process. There is scarcely a more disagreeable sound than that of the camel's outraged feelings with which he groans and grumbles and resents every fresh addition to his load, and every tug and pull upon the

ropes that form the rude fastening of his huge burthen: it conveys a distinct idea of reproach and remonstrance, and is uttered in such loud and discordant tones, that a camel-man must have a heart of stone to be able to endure it.

With daybreak of the 24th we had the usual military announcements of a march; and with daylight I rose to leave a ground and a locality which, by no extravagance of love for the natal soil, could in my opinion ever become dear to the most morbid-minded patriot: it was not only dismal and dreary in the extreme,—the horizon, nowhere a mile distant, being fringed with tamarisk bushes, and the air always clouded with dust; but it had fixed painful recollections of its own. During our stay here, a young officer of great promise, and deservedly very popular in his regiment, had committed suicide without any assignable cause; unless some lurking disease of the brain should be supposed to be the real origin of the mental depression which thus robbed his family of a valued member, and the service of a very promising officer. Two most vexatious occur-

rences of individual excesses, to such an extent of military irregularity as to cause arrest, and the probabilities of courts-martial, had also happened here; and eight private soldiers had been buried. These were numerous evils to be crowded into so short a space of halt upon one ground; but the bugle sounds a shrill farewell to the scene of painful as well as pleasant recollections, and no army ever moved on with higher spirits or more lively hopes.

Within two miles of our camp the Engineer Corps had thrown a mound as a bridge across one of the canals of the Indus; this was passed without any difficulty. Our road lay over ground which is evidently under the level of the inundation: but it was strange to see how small a portion appeared cultivated; the surface was nowhere sand or gravel, but everywhere a rich mould, the deposits of the river. Its only produce was a luxuriant brushwood of low tamarisks. Two most miserable assemblages of the rudest huts were passed, and they bore the names of villages; but poverty

and disease appeared the presiding demons of this region of wretchedness.

After a march of ten miles we reached our ground, at a paltry group of hovels containing a population of probably two hundred souls, and dignified with the name of Julalkote. To reach it we crossed another of the canals of the Indus, about thirty yards wide, on a pontoon bridge, which had been prepared by the Engineer Corps. It was firmly fixed; and our regiments of cavalry and infantry, and heavy guns and tumbrels, each dragged by six horses, passed unimpeded. The skill and science and energy shown in such constructions prepare a deeply interesting lesson for the world to learn ere it gets another thousand years older, and ere it approaches the millennium; viz. that if a tithe of the labour, the thought, and the expense that are incurred by man for the destruction of his fellow-man, were devoted to the advancement of his best interests and the promotion of his happiness, the plant would not require to be ripened by blood, nor would

its fruit be sorrow; but we sow the wind and must reap the whirlwind: a better age may come, and may bring a better temper with a better generation.

I had been so fortunate in the morning as to procure more camels, and my baggage had been brought forward without further loss or injury than the destruction of a chair: a trifling accident in the grand account of military contingencies; but, in a race that has discarded the primitive simplicity of squatting on the ground, the destruction of the last chair would be felt by each as a very serious privation. I was happily well supplied, and could consider it as no heavier grievance than a too early commencement of parting with superfluities.

The pleasures which in merry England return once a year with Christmas were denied to us: the 25th of December came as would have been received the 25th of any other month. We marched at daylight, and reached Sumarakote, a distance of about ten miles, under four hours. No impediments occurred on the road,—a broad alluvial plain sprinkled

with tamarisk bushes, with occasionally an acacia-tree, on some rising ground or bank beyond the reach of the inundation. At a small group of huts, which on this road may figure as a village, were first seen our Indian familiar trees, the peopul, the bēhr, and some stunted neems. The approach to Sumarakote gave however, at last, the appearance of an inhabited country: the village was on a gently rising ground, and the white cupola of a small mosque was seen peering over a fine grove of lofty acacia-trees, their trunks not less than thirty inches in diameter, and their verdant foliage and yellow blossoms contrasting with the dingy dusty hue of the tamarisk of the lower grounds. This was the first sight on which any eye could have rested with pleasure since our landing in Sind.

But, alas! Christmas-day was not only to be denied its ordinary enjoyments, but anxiety and alarm were to be endured also. A report of cholera in the 19th regiment of Native Infantry was made on the arrival of the corps in camp. Two men had been attacked in the night, and

both had died. During the day five cases more occurred, and two more died before next morning. These are fearful and inexplicable visitations. Of twelve cases, which was providentially the extent of the present evil, betwixt the 25th and 29th, no less than eight died.

The poor victims had not eaten together, nor been on duty together, nor slept in the same tents. Three were recruits, and had not been on night-duty at all. Thus no rational explanation could be afforded to solve the startling selection of twelve healthy men from a regiment of seven hundred to be stricken and slain, and to pass in a few hours from the guard-tent to the grave! Some alarm, of course, prevailed; no conjecture could foresee the limit of the disease that had commenced; and thus an anxious day and night followed. Additional hospital servants were supplied from other regiments, and all that circumstances would permit was done for the relief of the sufferers.

Our third march was over a dry sterile tract; and it was necessary to travel upwards of seventeen miles to find a suitable halting-ground

with sufficient water for the cavalry. The appearance of the country was, however, now improving: trees were to be seen; and in one place a small wood, with wintry branches bare of leaves, gave an European aspect to the landscape.

Colonel Pottinger, in whose company I rode this march, gave some interesting information on the changes of the bed of the river since his first visit to Sind, in 1809. The Western or Bugaar branch of the Indus was then the chief outlet of the waters of the Punjaub and Attock, and was upwards of twenty miles wide at its mouth. It is now nearly blocked up, and seems filling entirely. Where we forded the river, a bank of about one hundred yards wide, of dried flaky mud, seemed the last year's addition, and was undergoing the process by which a mud-bank, once deposited, seems to be almost immediately secured from being carried away by the next inundation. It was literally of one uniform bright grass-green, like a corn-field; and the rising crop was a thick forest of tamarisks, two or three inches high, and springing

up as closely as if the seed had been most carefully sown on the soft mud. This abundant crop will, ere the next season, offer a rough surface to retain fresh deposits of silt, and will furnish roots to bind the present. Thus this bank is irretrievably lost to the river.

An embankment of brushwood, fascines, and mud had been thrown across the river to dam it up for irrigation. Below it there was no water; and above it only about thirty inches' depth, and a breadth of about fifty yards. On each side of this were dug canals to convey the water to reservoirs, where simple wheels turned by camels were at work, watering large fields of sugar-cane. This was the first time I had ever seen camels so employed. They seemed docile beasts, and were performing their labours, plodding round and round, in some cases actually unattended; or four or five wheels, having two camels to each, appeared to be superintended by one driver.

The Mahomedan shrine and tomb of Peer Putta—the younger, lower, or inferior peer, or saint—formed an interesting object, at appa-

rently five miles' distance to the eastward. It is the resort of all classes of the inhabitants of Sind; and divides, with the shrines of Lal Shah Baz at Sehwan, and of Khaju Khizr at Sukkur, the devotion and alms of the faithful. The buildings formed a very conspicuous object; but were described as not worth the trouble of a visit, and neither remarkable for their extent, their taste, nor their antiquity. When our embassy was in Sind in 1809, this shrine was visited by the party who sailed thither down the Bugaar branch of the river.

Our encampment was on the bank of the Indus, opposite to the village of Kurreempore, and a little below Golam Shah. We were probably in the boundaries of the latter; but were more contiguous to the former, and received our supplies from it. We arrived here on the 26th, and halted to rest the troops on the 27th; during which day a steady, unvarying, strong north-east wind swept the ground, and raised as dense a cloud of dust as can have ever enveloped a camp since the army of Cambyses was buried in one on the Egyptian Desert. The

discomforts of such a day in a tent can be but faintly imagined by any one who has not endured them.

We had no sooner left the banks of the river on our fourth march than we entered upon a scene of the most opposite character to that which we had as yet travelled over. The road became thickly strewn with stones, and the ground broken into abrupt hillocks covered with ragged cactus bushes; finally attaining higher grounds, about one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet above the level of the plain, and, as described by a geologist of the party, composed of coral banks, showing that their original formation had been under the main ocean. These stony grounds distinctly marked the ancient banks of the river, and ran in parallel lines from north to south; and, wherever a higher summit gave an extended view, they could be seen, like the headlands on the side of an arm of the sea, forming bays of a mile or two miles across, and each promontory jutting into the level plain with a bold projecting point, still indicating on its weather-beaten, yellow, ochry

base, the traces of the floods that probably within the last ten centuries have rolled past them. We had seen at a great distance some similar undulations to the eastward of our course on the third march; and it seems not improbable that the river may have filled the intervening space, and been from ten to fifteen miles wide at this place, even when the Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe bestowed their attention upon Tatta, and built its citadel, and Jumna Muzjid.

As we advanced, a very extensive ruin was seen in front; which, upon our reaching it, we found to be the relic of an ancient fortified city. The crumbling walls were fallen in rude heaps, and the towers and bastions were shapeless mounds. The ruins were chiefly of that species of large flat brick, eighteen inches square, and three inches thick, which is brought from Babylon.

The whole ruin covered a headland, which had all the appearance of having been a promontory projecting into a great bay of the Indus. A wide plain, under the level of the

inundation, extended on each side of the coral bank, which rose almost perpendicularly from it, to the height of about one hundred feet.

The extent of the ruins was about fifteen hundred yards in length from north to south; breadth at the south end, from west face to first inner wall, two hundred and twelve yards; thence, to what seems the citadel wall, three hundred and thirty; depth of citadel, seventy; general area, a parallelogram of about one thousand five hundred yards by five hundred and forty, exclusive of the citadel, which projects from the east face at the southern end, and is one hundred and twenty yards by seventy. Such an area, allowing one hundred square yards for each house, would be equal to a population of forty thousand inhabitants. The eastern and western faces of the fortifications are nearly entire, and follow the irregularities of the bank, with round towers and curtains rising from the edge of the precipice, which is a steep and difficult rocky scarp: three sides must thus have been washed by the river, and the southern, or land side, being most exposed,

was doubly fortified, there being a second wall at about one hundred yards distant from the first, as if the southern end of the work had been a second citadel for the protection of the city. The northern end was by far more perfect than the rest: four lofty towers, about thirty feet high, and fifty feet in diameter, united by curtains of substantial masonry, showed a front of about one hundred and fifty yards, which a very little outlay might restore to its original strength; but the river now rolls some ten miles distant, and this shapeless ruin can never more be considered a site of the least importance.

Doctor Kirk, who had served in the Indian navy on the Red Sea duties, assured me that the rocks below the ruins at the south-east angle, and in what may be termed the bottom of the ancient bay, are precisely similar to the coral rocks of the African coast. Their peculiarity of appearance may be imagined from my first thinking that some stalactite fragments, standing erect near a Mahomedan tomb in the hollow of the rock, had been whitewashed.

Our road lay under the south-west angle of the ruins, descending the steep bank to the level plain below. A lofty round tower still lifts its stately head, and massive ruins, over the pass it had been built to command. No ivy or any herbage covered it. In this country of scanty rain, the extent of the inundation marks, as in Egypt, the extent of vegetation; and thus these shapeless piles and mounds of bricks and mud remain unaltered, in slow decay, and have neither shrub nor grass to relieve the dingy hue of their mouldering ruins.

The first view of Tatta is very imposing; the buildings occupy a rising ground or swell, which may probably be formed of the *débris* of the ancient city. Scattered trees, acacia and neem, with abundant underwood of tamarisk, gave a lively green; and the architectural character of the houses, with flat roofs, overtopping the trees on the rising ground in successive stages, formed altogether as fine a picture of city scenery as I remember to have seen in India; excepting, indeed, the first view of Broach from under a banyan-tree on the

Ocliseer side, which in my opinion is unequalled anywhere. But Tatta, like Broach, has now no further interest, except in its history, extending into the age of fable. A scanty population — under two thousand souls — is scattered about its ruins, in mud-built hovels: what were once the palaces of the Mogul nobility are now desolate and unoccupied; and the river, which once flowed under its walls, now rolls at four miles' distance to the eastward. A more perfect picture of decay cannot well be imagined; whilst even the mud-built hovels, whose plaster had been renewed since the last season, appeared, from the grey earthy colour of their walls, and the absence of any appearance of roof,— they being all flat terraces,—to be only continuations of the older ruins.

The river, now four miles distant, is said to be upwards of one thousand five hundred yards wide, and certainly seems wider than the Nurbudda at Broach. It is a bold and majestic stream; and, though bounded only by mere mud-banks, sometimes rising twenty feet above

the water, with no distant mountains to lend grandeur to the scene, yet the associations and old histories connected with this ancient river suffice to rivet one's attention, and carry the mind through the chances and changes of three thousand years, which have not operated more mightily here on the puny generations of man than they have on the face of Nature herself, overturning and defacing those landmarks and boundaries which in all other countries seem coeval with the globe, and destined to endure with its duration.

Our camp was formed on the east side of the city, and betwixt it and the undulating swell; which, rising abruptly some fifty feet above the plain which lies under the level of the inundation, slopes very gradually westward. From the city to the base of this precipice is about a mile; and the intervening ground must, in the prosperity of Tatta, have been rich gardens. Three extensive tanks, which are annually filled by the overflow of the Indus, lie at the base of the banks, and supplied us with water. We had ample room for our whole camp, and

double the force might have been accommodated.

The ridge of the banks, where it is opposite to the city, is crowned with a very long Eedga wall, with its Imaum's steps in the centre, and having small minarets at its extremities; and from this an area of about four square miles extends southward and westward, level enough for the purposes of a military cantonment. On this ground it was decided that the British force to be stationed in Sind should be cantoned; the lines for one European and two native regiments, and a company of artillery, were measured and fixed on.

My professional opinion was never asked; but I did not fail to enter my earnest and unqualified protest against any location of troops on this ground: this protest was disregarded, and the most disastrous results followed; but of this hereafter.

From the Eedga, these hills, extending north and south to a distance exceeding three miles in each direction, are covered with a countless multitude of tombs: some have a recent ap-

pearance, and their vicinity is swept and cleared; but the vast majority are in ruin. Some are fine buildings of richly-carved stone; and one in a good style of architecture, only inferior to the best of the ruined tombs near Ahmedabad: the date was very recent, not two hundred years ago; but the walls were cracked and rent in a manner that could only have been done by an earthquake. The style of decoration was quite new, the cupola being lined with thick bricks glazed and varnished with white or richly coloured porcelain, so as to resemble China tiles, and painted in patterns of flowers and arabesques, some of which were infinitely creditable to the taste and skill of the artist. One tomb was entirely built of these bricks, the outer surface only of each being coloured and glazed; the effect was gaudy, and that tinsel tawdriness which results from injudicious over-ornament.

Nothing that I have ever seen has at all equalled the perfection of the art of brick-making which is shown in the bricks to be found in these ruins: the most beautifully

chiselled stone could not surpass the sharpness of edge and angle, and accuracy of form; whilst the substance was so perfectly homogeneous and skilfully burnt, that each brick had a metallic ring, and fractured with a clean surface like breaking free-stone. I will not question the possibility of manufacturing such bricks in England; but I much doubt whether such perfect work has ever been attempted.

Only one unfortunate occurrence disturbed the quiet of our halt at Tatta, save the trouble and turmoil of the quest for camels and baggage-ponies. The former was the death of a Beloochy dependent of some officer of the Sind Government, who was detected supplying liquor to our European soldiers, made prisoner, and brought to camp. On his arrival there, he was ordered to be taken to Colonel Pottinger the civil authority, who examined the witnesses, and, being satisfied of the prisoner's guilt, ordered him to be confined until further proceedings could conveniently be instituted against him. On leaving Colonel Pottinger's tent, the prisoner suddenly drew his sword, which through some strange

oversight or mistaken courtesy he had been permitted to retain, and endeavoured to escape, cutting at the corporal and three men of his guard. The occurrence took place close to the Commander-in-Chief's tent; and the prisoner, having broken from his guard, ran towards the rear betwixt the tents of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald and Sir John Keane. The clatter of weapons—the prisoner cutting, and the guard parrying with their muskets,—being heard, they ran out, and were actually spectators of the skirmish of a few seconds, which was at once ended by the native sentry in the rear of Sir John Keane's tent shooting the prisoner through the body as he passed him. My tent was not a hundred yards distant, and I was on the spot in a few minutes: the wounded wretch was removed to the nearest hospital; but the wound was mortal, and he died within an hour.

The occurrence occasioned what seemed to us much unnecessary anxiety to Colonel Pottinger, who offered a sum of money to the

family of the deceased; which report said they refused, and I believe it to be true that they did so.

There is nothing in living Tatta that can recall a single idea of its ancient wealth, population, and importance, but its cities of the dead: the cemetery of six square miles may not contain less than a million of tombs! a rude guess, but the area would admit of four millions, and little space seems lost; whilst irregular lines of tombs and detached groups of them are seen in every direction as far as the eye can reach from the summit of the loftiest of the number.

The style of the architecture is everywhere modern and Mahomedan; but in advancing northward, nearly three miles entirely through *ruins*, a headland promontory jutting into the plain is reached, and at its apex are found two or three venerable relics, small cupolas about fifteen feet in diameter, which betray the Hindoo origin of the art. They appear to be of extreme antiquity, but are not, like the buildings at Dholka, of Hindoo creation, defaced of their

Hindoo symbols and turned to Mahomedan purposes; nor yet are they like some of the Ahmedabad buildings, where faint traces of Hindoo symbols have crept into and been mixed up with the Mahomedan arabesques: these are free from anything that could, at first sight, have offended the most rigid of the Caliphs; the architectural style is unquestionable, and they appear to be the most ancient of the ruins, coeval apparently with the establishment of Mahomedan supremacy in Sind.

The meditations among such myriads of tombs are painful and oppressive: we hear and read of dust returning to dust, and are so accustomed to the truth and its occurrence, that we are callous till the bolt strikes home; but the Mahomedan fidelity to the buried bones, which admits no opening of an ancient grave for a new interment, so completely covers the face of a country near ancient cities with relics of the long-forgotten dead, that the mind seems overwhelmed, and, as it were, subdued in the contemplation of all the pangs that have been felt, and the tears that have

been shed, and all "the piteous tales of domestic grief those tears watered," as if some heavy catastrophe of pestilence had recently swept off a nation at once under our eyes, or as if the spectator stood, like the last man, the sole survivor of his race.

## CHAPTER V.

Causes of the rise and fall of celebrated Cities. — Ancient Tatta. — Traditionary account of its population and importance. — The Indus once navigable to a much higher extent than at present.—Remains of an ancient European vessel in a field near Vikkur. — Valley of the Indus. — Prodigious quantity of silt brought down by the waters of the river.—Geological formations.—Voyage of Alexander the Great down the Eastern branch of the Indus.—Comparison of the ancient statements with the present appearance of the localities.—Confirmatory local traditions.—Beautiful mosaic work. — Probable site of the ancient Patala.

THE rise or fall of cities is generally but a series of accidents: wisdom or power has seldom created them by the mere will of the founder; and immediate human agency, however powerful for mischief, seems to require the rebound of some power of Nature, or material change of circumstances, ere it can entirely destroy.

Nineveh and Babylon, with Tyre and Sidon, whose merchants were princes, appear to have

been links in the same chain, and to have grown through the same causes,—the monopoly of the communication betwixt the Eastern and Western worlds in the ages antecedent to history; when man was very probably much less a savage than we moderns are contented to consider him, and when caravan travelling by land, and voyaging by sea, were far more extensive and enterprising than seems to be allowed by those who admit no history but that which commences with Herodotus.

Those cities in succession, particularly the Levantine ports, seem to have sunk as much under the entire change of the Oriental trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, as under the resentment of Alexander. I say entire, because the reference by Homer to the grandeur and population of Thebes in Egypt shows that the Red Sea had always shared some portion of it; though even that would seem to have sought the Levantine ports as much through Edom as through Egypt, and that the building of Alexandria and the troubles in Mesopotamia and Syria decided the future channel.

Venice and Genoa have fallen under the changes occasioned by the new route round the Cape of Storms; but the steam-engine is at work, and the schoolmaster abroad, and it becomes a query whether a rail-road across the Desert may not undo the discovery of De Gama, and once more enrich Egypt with the transit duties of this now unparalleled chain of intercourse.

But, passing this subject as foreign to our purpose, I shall return to the ruins of Tatta, whence I set out. It seems difficult to reconcile the ancient notices respecting this fallen emporium with its present aspect: we are told that its population amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand; that its trade extended to China and Africa and Arabia, the Indus being navigable to the largest trading vessels then known; and that its wealth surpassed the riches of an Indian port.

As respects the population, we may readily admit exaggeration; since our own personal observation enables us to speak of the similar notices respecting the population of Surat, de-

scribed as having exceeded half a million at a period when we have satisfactory grounds for knowing that something short of two hundred thousand must have been the very extreme limit it could ever have attained: but, supposing that one hundred thousand living souls ever walked the now desolate fields, and covered the shapeless sand-hills round modern Tatta with their habitations; how appalling has been the sweep of the besom of destruction, which has erased the very traces of their existence as completely as the wind that was blowing, and a drove of camels that followed me as I left the gate, obliterated for ever the faint marks of my footsteps in that dust which may once have been living man or beast in the streets of Tatta, and was now returned to the earth from whence it was originally taken!

Even so late as the period of Portuguese supremacy, which may be considered as the first half of the seventeenth century, we hear of the safe navigation of the Indus, admitting of their attacking Tatta with a fleet of square-rigged vessels, some mounting forty guns. The

wreck very probably of one of this very fleet is now to be seen in the middle of a field near Vikkur: it is an ancient galliot of European build, of about four hundred tons and pierced for thirty guns, and could not now enter any one of the hundred shallow outlets of the Indus.

There is not, perhaps, in the world a more singular field for the study of what may be called river hydraulics than the valley of the Indus. First, there is the mighty mass of waters gathered in the Punjaub, and draining from the perennial snows of the Himalaya, rolling its congregated floods in a course of one thousand five hundred miles. Secondly, there is the southerly wind of the Indian monsoon for six months, meeting the current at its outlet, and throwing up a greater force of tide to roll its mud-banks inwards and check the expulsion of its deposits into main ocean. Thirdly, this seems a land of earthquakes, which even in our day (1819) have overthrown the walls and towers of "ancient cities fenced up to heaven," and very materially changed one channel of the

river. These are mighty operating causes; and geological knowledge, assisted by a careful survey of all that can be gleaned from history of past events, and all that can be learned by patient examination of present sites and appearances, would have an abundant exercise for philosophical ingenuity.

No river that we know of, unless, probably, the South American Giant of Streams, brings such a flood from such a lofty chain of mountains over such a length of course to the sea, or bears such an impalpable mass of the *débris* of those mountains suspended in its waters. The careful experiment of Mr. Lord showed that by estimating speed of current, and breadth and depth of river-bed, to obtain the quantity of water discharged, and then weighing the impure water to compare the same with equal quantities of purified water, the result showed that, if any chemical process could arrest the progress of the silt thus borne downwards in any given place, it would form an island as large as the Isle of Wight in some very short period, the precise space of which I have forgotten;

suffice it to say, that a muddier water I never saw drawn for draught.

The rocky ridge, which at varying distances runs parallel with the river, seems beyond question to have been the ancient bank when the level plain below was an inland sea; and the geological formation must have been exceedingly recent, from the limestone rock containing oyster, and cockle, and other salt-water shells, only half-fossilized. The most extraordinary specimen of this sort of rock that I ever saw was a stone-anchor of the botilla on which I sailed from Kurachy on my return to Bombay this year: it was cut from a hill four miles inland from Mandavie in Kutch, and consisted of a mere mass of half-fossilized oyster, cockle, and muscle shells, held together by an ochry yellow limestone. It was about four feet long, and probably a foot square at the ends; a more curious specimen of fossil rock could not be seen. The study of the hill whence it was dug would be a rich treat to a thorough geologist. This still unchanged state of the shells suffices to indicate some terrific changes having

occurred at no very remote period; and when we compare it with the wreck above-mentioned, now grounded many miles from any present course of the river, and the sands of Sind heaping over it, upwards of thirty miles further inland than any vessel of one-fourth its proportions could now reach, we are lost in wonder to conjecture what may have been the appearance of the valley, where the Delta of the Indus commenced, or how wide it extended, in the age of Alexander.

My long residence in India, and the wandering life that I have been compelled to lead, have denied my being classical. Thus, the only Alexander I can venture to know much of is my excellent friend, Sir Alexander Burnes; and I should fully discharge my duty of noting, and publishing my notes, if I merely contented myself with the history of his great services to Government. But some local knowledge enables me to offer a passing conjecture in elucidation of ancient geography; and, right or wrong, I may unpretendingly offer it to the consideration of the learned.

The voyage of discovery by Alexander down the eastern branch of the Indus is said, first, to have brought him to an immense lake, which received its supplies from other waters in the adjacent districts, and was vaster than the expansion of a river, and more like a sea-bay,—*μεγαλῳ τε ποιει τε κολπῳ θαλασσης μαλιστα εοικναν.* This lake, or inland sea, abounded in salt-water fishes larger than those found in the Mediterranean. Secondly, at the head of this lake he landed his troops, and proceeded with his galleys to take a view of the ocean. Thirdly, having gone as far as he considered safe, practicable, or necessary, he landed, and prosecuted the survey by a three days' journey along the coast, ordering wells to be dug, either for present use, or expected future contingencies; though the former may be supposed to have been the urgent necessity.

The ancient geographers have laid down the outlets of the Indus with more real accuracy than their commentators are disposed to allow; and, however much at variance different authorities may appear to be, it seems in our

power to reconcile some of their discordances. On this point I would refer the reader to the French essay of Gosselin, which, being subsequent to Vincent's, has the advantage of his researches, and might correct some of his oversights. From him we learn that Onesicritus, as quoted by Strabo, lib. xv, makes Patalene a triangle of two thousand stadia. That Nearchus, as quoted by Strabo in the same passage, calculates the sea-face of the triangle at one thousand eight hundred stadia; and Arrian, probably copying Nearchus, assigns it the same extent. That Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 23, estimates the sea-board at two hundred and twenty Roman miles, or one thousand seven hundred and sixty Greek stadia. That Ptolemy assigns to the shore one hundred and ninety-six minutes of longitude in the twenty-fourth degree of north latitude, which at five hundred stadia to a degree, would give one thousand six hundred and thirty-three stadia. Finally Aristobulus, quoted by Strabo, lib. xv, reduces it to one thousand stadia: but in a note M. Gosselin supposes this to be an error of the copyist; for that

Aristobulus, having accompanied Alexander, was not likely to have differed from Arrian and Nearchus.

When their deficiency of instruments for survey is considered, one is at a loss to imagine how the approach to accuracy should have been so great; for, supposing the western mouth of the Indus at Kurachy or Kŏrookĕla, and the eastern at Looni Bary, the modern names still identifying the ancient sites, we have precisely the fair average of the ancient estimates, or about one hundred and sixty miles; which would give the perpendicular of the triangle at about one hundred and thirty miles, and assign its apex north of Hydrabad, or eighty miles above Tatta, at the lowest estimate.

But I am strongly impressed with the belief that Alexander's voyage of survey down the eastern channel carried him further than we have been as yet prepared to admit. The notices, hitherto treated as chimerical, that he visited Barugaza, are by no means so wild as has been imagined. We have the authority of

the Periplus that the dominion of Sind extended in that age to Barugaza, that is, across Kattiwar, and included the peninsula. Nine months were occupied by Alexander in his course down the Indus, and he had full time for all the observations he chose to make; and it was only the discontent of his army, and no lack of anxiety to advance on his part, that occasioned his return to Babylon. It does not, consequently, appear improbable that he who sent Megasthenes to Palibothra, should go himself, or send some of his officers, to the limit of the territory of the subjugated Princes of Sind who had submitted to his dominion; and the distance is not so great but that the journey might have been made with ease in less than twenty days.

The vast lake, or inland sea, through which he sailed, must have been the Run, which the local tradition indicates to have been a navigable sea within the last five hundred years, and to have borne the name of the Kilna Deriow. On this head the reader will find much curious

information in Sir Alexander Burnes's treatise on the Indus, to which I refer him.

The Run is now a shallow expanse of briny water, extending to at least ten thousand square miles, but seldom more than three feet deep. There need, I think, be no doubt but that it was affected by the inundation of the Indus, which most probably communicates through some of the ancient canals for irrigation; or, if not, may percolate through the light sandy soil of those ancient channels, which may appear to be filled up, but still have a subterraneous stratum pervious to water. The rise of the water of the Run in May cannot be explained in any other manner than by admitting a communication with the Indus: since the Bunass and Loonee, the two chief rivers that fall into the Run, have not their sources in any snowy region; and the casual floods in those rivers, dependent on the occasional rains of Marwar, never occur before the middle of July, and seldom till August; nor are they of sufficient importance at any time to affect so vast a surface, their drainage to the sea through the

outlet at Wandia being amply wide enough to carry off any temporary rain-flood that ever occurred in those rivers.

The voyage of Alexander must have been made in July, at the period when the inundation of the Indus and the waters of the Run are highest, since Nearchus left Kurachy for the Persian Gulf in October.

The digging of wells along the coast indicates that Alexander was on the banks of the Run,—nowhere else could this have been necessary; nor could he have travelled with a party of horse across the marshy shore of the Delta along the sea-coast; and along the coast of Kutch he would not have required to dig wells, supposing him to have reached Mallia with his boats. His three days' journey along the coast of Kattiwar might have led him to Dwarka, where he would find he had attained the extreme headland towards the main ocean, and a spot well known in the navigation of the Indian seas; thereby giving a distance to be travelled, and an object to be gained, which justify the undertaking, and the conclusion of the journey.

Under these several views of the case I should look for the site of Patala at Sehwan, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter. The Delta commencing about one hundred and thirty miles above the sea, its northern apex would be somewhere midway betwixt Hyderabad and Sehwan; where local traditions still speak of ancient cities destroyed, and of greater changes having occurred than in any other part of the course of the Indus, and where the indications appear unquestionable that such traditions are not without foundation.

The mythological legend of Kutch, that a Hindoo devotee, the founder of a religious fraternity still existing on the site where he established it, was able to destroy the inland sea, or Kilna Deriow, by his superhuman power acquired by a series of ascetic devotions, can be referred only, when considered historically, to some earthquake convulsion which heaved up the bottom of this vast lake, and filled up its harbours, the names of which are faithfully recorded; and circumstantial evidences confirmatory of the occurrence may be found in the loca-

lities and names, and the relics of sea-going ships found on the coast of the Run; also in the partial fall of Mandavie from the importance it held in the twelfth century as the wealthiest port of this region, and the rise of Tatta, whose modern importance dates about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The oldest of the tombs bearing inscriptions have a date under two centuries; whilst its principal and only good mosque, commenced by the father of Aurungzebe, was finished by that monarch in the first years of the eighteenth century. The manufactures of Tatta are languidly carried on by the few survivors of its population: the loongies, or waist-cloths, of a mixture of silk and cotton, probably the *zonæ* of the list of imports in the Periplus, still continue the admiration of the wealthy Asiatics. One relic of the ancient taste and mechanical skill of Tatta exists in the mosaic inlaid work of what are called the Bombay boxes. The original workmen were driven by the reckless despotism of the Talpoore family and their Beloochy retainers to emigrate from Sind, and

found shelter and employment in Bombay. Their skill soon obtained them a market; and from the increase of their families, and probably the spread of their art, and the adoption of their trade by others, it is now of some importance, and the first that attracts the notice of strangers. The mosaic, which appears in coloured glazed brick and tiles ornamenting and lining the fallen tombs and mosques of Tatta, has thus become, in a more finished form in ivory and sandal-wood, the drawing-room *bijouterie* of the fair-haired daughters of the West.

The ruins of Bambara, on the spot assigned, mark the site of Barbarike; and the Rajpoot family legends point out in Sri Meenuggur—their name for Tatta, now invariably termed Nuggur Tatta,—the remains of the Minigara of antiquity; the names of both agree, whilst the local histories refer to their ancient importance in terms that seem to decide the question. Korookela is Kurachy, near the outlet of the western branch; and Looni Bary, a port on the estuary of the Looni, or eastern branch, receiving the Looni river through the Run: but

we have no sure guide to Patala, further than its certainly being in Lower Sind, and higher than one hundred and thirty miles from the sea. Every native assured me that Sehwan was the most ancient city in Lower Sind; that at different æras it had borne seven names, the last having been Bagdad, ere changed for Sehwan. Its site on a spur of the Lukki mountains has preserved it from the encroachments of the river; and the Arul canal, an artificial channel which runs a semicircular course of one hundred miles, embracing and insulating the district betwixt Larkhanu and Sehwan, sufficiently marks the power and patriotism of its former rulers. Putala, the lower region, indicates Lower Sind in its Sanscrit derivation; and the modern division of Upper and Lower Sind appears to be at Sehwan; the Indus above being called Sira or Northern, and below it Lar or Southern. The important city of Larkhanu would appear from its name to have been formerly on the Lar, and very probably the very spot where the ancient boundary existed; at all events, even in the modern statistics Seh-

wan still lies in the lower portion, and in the region described by the Greek geography as the country of the Patalans. The island of Patalene, formed by the Delta, is sufficiently definitive; whilst Patala itself is with equal clearness said to be above the bifurcation of the river.

But, I repeat again, these are mere conjectures; and we must wait for some fortunate accident to shed light on the local histories ere we can hope for any satisfactory elucidation of the Greek narrative.

## CHAPTER VI.

Army again in motion.—Peer Radan.—Character of the country. — Sadan. — Flourishing villages destroyed, to make room for Hunting-grounds.—Contemptible method of hunting.—First alarm of war.—Failure of Capt. Outram's mission.—Motives of Historians.—False alarms. —Precautions.—Pleasant and commanding position of Jerruk.—Propriety of making it a Military Station.— Advance countermanded.—More false alarms.—Great error of the Campaign.—Hunting-forest on fire.—Three officers of the Queen's Royals perish in the conflagration.—Inquest on their bodies.—Cairn raised over them by the soldiers.

On the 23rd of January the army was again in motion, and travelled a short stage of eleven miles to Peer Radan, a village named from the tomb of a Mahomedan saint. Three tanks, of sufficient magnitude to deserve the name of lakes, supplied annually from the inundation, are abundantly sufficient for all the calls that

are made on them for irrigating an extensive tract of the neighbouring fields, and to bear the evaporation of a sun that in January raises the thermometer to 100° of Fahrenheit.

The stony ridge was here much more lofty and extensive than at Tatta, and approached the character of a hilly district rather than the mere stony wall of the ancient banks of the river. A long walk of two miles across it brought us to a hard dry plain without a shrub, and to the ascent of a second step of this higher land, more elevated than the first. The soil of this plain, being *débris* of the yellow limestone of which the ridges are formed, is of quite a different character from that of the deposits of the Indus; whilst the absence of tamarisk sufficed to show to the first cursory view that the Indus floods never attained thither. Nor in fact could they, the mean height of this plain being probably nearly one hundred feet above the highest present flow of the inundation. Fine acacia woods surrounded the lakes; and the view from the higher ground, looking down to the plain of the Indus, was pleasing and interesting.

On the 24th we marched to Sadan, a stage of twelve miles. Our whole route lay along the edges of the ridgy grounds, sometimes descending into the Indus' valley plain, which was here a thick wood extending to the river, and again re-ascending the ridge. The forest we passed through was one of the many which are the fearful curse inflicted by despotism on this unhappy country, whose finest tracts of land within the influence of irrigation from the river are waste, and devoted, as dense forests, to be preserves for game, termed in the country Shikargah (game-places), for the pastime of the chiefs.

The mighty hunter, whose game was man, built cities! The savage Nimrods of this wretched country have destroyed flourishing villages, like the first Norman in Bolderwood, to create their new forests. Some ruins were pointed out to us, indicating the site of a once populous village which had been destroyed, and its inhabitants exiled to a distant district, by one of their princes, because "the crowing of the village cocks, and other rural sounds of its human and animal population, disturbed the

game in his brother's shikargah." The Norman could not have done more; and it is but retributive justice which we read of in history that his heir died a violent death on the scene of some similar enormity.

The human mind cannot contemplate a more bitterly speaking exposition of what the flinty heart of despotism becomes when indulged in the abuse of power, the *caput mortuum* distilled down step by step, from its first outbreaks in the insolence of place, and the intoxication of success, till it ends in the destruction of villages, and the expulsion of a population, for the creation of hunting-grounds. A Nero is a *lusus naturæ;* but the wild wantonness of despotism is the heart's desperate wickedness when unchecked, obeying every impulse of its native hardness.

The mode of hunting pursued by those valorous Nimrods, so cruel to their dependents, so helpless before their enemies, is characteristic of the men and their position.

The shikargahs are fenced round with strong hedges, and in some places walled; and the wild

animals thus stockaded-in are supplied with water by a drain from the river. When a grand hunt is ordered, the supply of water is cut off for a few days, and restored only when the hunting party, in elevated and safe positions commanding the watercourse, are prepared to destroy the poor beasts that rush to slake their thirst; and to this contemptible butcher-work is the term hunting applied in Sind.

This evening a new aspect was given to our political position; the alarm of war was sounded. Captain Outram had been detached from Tatta to convey the Governor-general's ultimatum to the Ameers of Sind, and had now reported their refusal to accede thereto; consequently nothing remained but to enforce submission.

My notes are not a systematized narration of the political and military events of the campaign; nor had I that view behind the curtain of our bureaucracy which is requisite to conceal or betray motives or actions. Under these circumstances, it may seem idle for me to indulge in speculation,—to say such was the report of

the why and wherefore, and such appeared to the majority the result. But what is history? When a Cæsar writes his commentaries, and becomes the historian of his own times and actions, the personal bias is considered sufficiently strong to disparage the value of the personal knowledge; and this colouring medium, even if it does not distort, is admitted by the most charitably disposed to be at the best a certain, though a venial misrepresentation. Thus a humble actor in the scene like myself, sharing only the national feeling, and having no personal interest to distort or misrepresent, may prove, on the whole, if a faithful recorder of all that he has heard and seen, as accurate an historian as one who, though having more authentic sources of information than the daily discussion at the staff mess-table, may yet have also his reasons for wishing to keep that information to himself, and to have a different version imposed upon posterity.

It was never explained why Colonel Pottinger did not deliver Lord Auckland's message himself, instead of employing Captain Outram. The

just estimation in which the latter distinguished officer was held insured the proper discharge of any duty intrusted to him; but could scarcely, it may be thought, justify, without some explanation, whatever might be his known merits, the transfer of Colonel Pottinger's duty and responsibilities to another, a stranger in Sind, and one who held no official situation there, but as an honorary aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief. The regiment to which he belongs, the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry, being part of the force, he had volunteered for the service, and was then present with the army only in a military capacity.

Further, it was never explained why Lord Auckland's ultimatum had not been communicated earlier to the Ameers of Sind, — why a demand for a large money-payment, which was to be enforced if refused, had not been made known previous to our landing in Sind. Some stain may assuredly be supposed to have fallen upon the character of the proceedings, until it is satisfactorily shown that the delay arose from unavoidable causes, and that the unopposed land-

ing in Sind was not accomplished by concealment of the intended measures. These are two weighty matters, which may, I hope, be eventually disposed of by those who possess the power of explaining them; as well as the reasons, whatever they were, which occasioned the halt for two months betwixt landing in the Hujamry and the departure from Tatta.

But, to return to our camp at Sadan, the most extravagantly exaggerated statements appear to have been made of the hostile preparations of the enemy, and to have been in a great measure believed. A party of our irregular horse was sent in advance to reconnoitre; and Major Cunningham, the officer commanding, was warned and warned again of the thousands and thousands he was likely to meet, and instructed how to act in a thousand supposed emergencies. A mild unpretending man, but good officer and brave soldier, he set off upon his perilous quest. His matter-of-fact observation saw no Beloochies where none were, and he travelled through the night without the sight or the sound of an enemy; and, reported all quiet, and no opposition to be apprehended.

Every half-hour through the night patrols of cavalry passed round the camp, and no baggage was permitted to be sent in advance on the morrow. All the caution and preparation requisite to foil the vigilance and enterprise of the most numerous and desperate assailants were as punctiliously enforced as if Major Cunningham and his Poonah horse could not have eaten all the opponents that meditated, in their wrathful disposition, to swallow us up quick, by night or by day, whenever they should meet us. The jest is not at military preparation. The points alluded to form the difference betwixt discipline and its absence; and the omission of these precautions might subject an army in front of an enemy to surprise and disorganization. But, admitting this, a prudent general will save his troops whenever it lies in his power; and a wise one will seldom be so totally uninformed of the strength, resources, and capabilities of the enemy, as ours at least appeared to be.

Our march next morning was made in order of battle, and prepared for action. A short

stage of ten miles brought us to Jerruk at an early hour; but no tents had arrived before us, and, alas! no provision for breakfast. Our first essay of what was termed roughing-it was on an exceedingly hot morning, and the concomitants of baking in the sun and fasting were neither pleasant nor profitable. I sat for two hours under a beautiful acacia that was waving her yellow hair in full blossom over the Indus, and thought of other waters than the Indus flood, and other business than the politics of Sind.

The position of the town of Jerruk is the most pleasing of any we had seen. A better knowledge of the country will show whether the Delta could at any time have included it; or whether the hills, which here descend abruptly towards the bed of the river, are a continuous chain of heights, projected eastward as a spur from the mountain ranges of Beloochistan, extending from north to south, the western boundary of Sind. Irregular hills, of above one hundred feet in height, and having all flat tops, forming areas of different dimensions, from one hundred yards square to half a

mile in length and a quarter in width, appear to form this chain; and, from the summits of those nearest our camp, the windings of the river below, and the deep hue of the dark forests on its bank, exhibited a fine landscape panorama of great interest and beauty. We thought, as we looked down upon it, that such a sight repaid the privation and toil of our march, and for the first time conceived it was worth remembering that we had seen the classic Indus.

The town of Jerruk occupies a small portion of the last step of the sloping ridges, the termination of which forms a headland projecting into and hanging over the river at a height of about thirty feet: it is not four hundred yards from the landing-place, and is thus the first town we have seen in Sind that is not on the alluvial plain formed by the deposits of the river. The position entirely commands the navigation, and not a boat could pass a battery on the headland described; whilst the garrison of the station might occupy the very bank, and have a better site for their barrack than any in Lower Sind.

The space westward of the town is a hard dry ground of sand-stone and a *débris* of iron ore, not bearing a blade of grass or shrub of any sort, apparently about two miles square, of irregular outline from the descent of three or four hills, and sloping very gradually from south to north, where the ridge descends precipitously into the alluvial plain,—a fall of about forty feet. The extent of this high ground westward and southward was not ascertained, but it appears to embrace a wide range of country. A finer ground for a military cantonment of three thousand men could not be imagined; elevated above the surrounding country, reaching to the very bank of a navigable river supplying the best water, near a flourishing town in an abundant country, and at a spot of some importance as connected with the western frontier, being the grand mart resorted to by the wild mountaineers of the west for the sale of their rude productions, and the purchase of their few imports. When Sind is occupied by British garrisons, and the disposition of them is guided solely by what is best for the troops, and best for British

interests, and not for "moral effect," this place, and probably Sehwan, will be the only important positions betwixt Sukkur and Kurachy.

Our march was to have been onward on the 25th; but the advance was countermanded in the night. The Assistant Adjutant General was enjoined not to disclose to any one this alteration in the plans; but why, except that they might enjoy the sublime pleasure of hearing that every one had been disturbed, and that the poor servants had been robbed of rest, it would be difficult to conjecture: happily for me, my tent being next to that of the Commissary General, and it being necessary to communicate the important event to him, the Assistant Adjutant General rode up to his tent, and, ere he could fully indoctrinate the sleeping Commissary, he had to state the fact so loudly that I heard it; and forthwith calling my servants, acquainted them that they had no occasion to rise before daybreak, and might sleep their fill next morning. The hostile movements of the enemy had occasioned this change; and it was become necessary to get our boats on the river

under the protection of the army, and to disembark our ammunition for service.

The result showed that the information on which the army halted was a most gross exaggeration. Even the following day, when the enemy in thousands were supposed to occupy our vicinity, and at every hour of the night had been expected to attack, some heedless young men rode the whole distance to the vicinity of Hyderabad, and neither saw nor heard an enemy. General Willshire had slept in his boots; and one half the army had been on the alert to protect the other, but, as it afterwards appeared, for nothing.

A rabble had been assembled at Hyderabad, who seem to have imagined the possibility of deterring our advance by their unmeasured vapouring and bullying; but who wisely determined on abstaining from any offensive measures, except the plunder of some grain which was said to have been collected for the army at Hyderabad; it is perhaps to be regretted that the Commander-in-chief was advised to allow them to escape with impunity.

The credulity which attached importance to the reports received of the Beloochy armament, and the strength of Hyderabad, with the consequent halt at Jerruk, was the great error of the campaign, and occasioned all the subsequent evils experienced on the march to Kandahar and Ghizni. But for this, Hyderabad would have been stormed before the 30th; and we should have heard no more of Inîrauh Khan of Khélaut, and very little of Dost Mahomed of Ghizni.

It would have been happy for three most excellent and promising young men had we not lost those precious days at Jerruk; but such is man's existence,—here to-day and gone to-morrow! the sport apparently of accident, and pendent on a thread till the place that knew him knoweth him no more! On the morning of the 29th of January, the adjacent shikargah was observed, from a dense column of smoke ascending, to be on fire, and many of our officers rode out to witness it. Among others, Doctor Hibbert of the 2nd or Queen's Royals, and Lieutenants Spark and Nixon of the same regi-

ment, proceeded thither on foot with fowling-pieces and rifles, expecting exercise on the wild animals driven by the fire out of the burning forest. Lieutenant Halkett of the same regiment accompanied them on horseback; and, when they plunged into the thickest parts of the wood, and he found it impossible to accompany them, returned to camp, little dreaming of the melancholy fate awaiting them. No servant and only one dog was with them; and the poor beast the same evening returned to camp. On their not returning in the evening, some alarm was felt; and, as we had supped full of rumours of war for some days before, it was conjectured that they might have been made prisoners by the Beloochies.

On the following morning two parties of cavalry and irregular horse were sent in search of them; and, sad to say, a villager who had been cutting wood in the forest, and probably found it convenient to follow the course of the fire, had discovered and led the way to where their bodies were found, half buried in the smouldering and still hot ashes of the long grass

and brushwood by which their clothes had been destroyed.

More pitiable objects were never seen than the three bodies as brought into camp: not a vestige of their clothes remained; the extremities were partially consumed; and the blackened skin, and the limbs stiffened into the most frightful distortions, with the features almost entirely defaced, exhibited to their friends the most distressing spectacle that can be imagined.

An inquest was immediately assembled, and a verdict of "Accidental death" recorded. No sign of sword-cut or gun-shot wound appeared on their bodies; nor could it have been supposed that three energetic young men, well armed, could have met a violent death from the enemy without having given some account of their assailants. The relics of their clothes, such as metal buttons, were found on the spot. The barrels of their guns were a valuable booty when found, and were easily carried off: it was not wonderful that they were not found; but parts of the stocks remained, showing that they had been burnt. The bodies had evidently not

been rifled; Dr. Hibbert's gold rings were left on his fingers: and all three showed, by the injury received, where their powder-flasks had exploded on their sides; and, one of the party being left-handed, the side on which the injury appeared indicated the character of the occurrence which occasioned it. This further proves another most satisfactory circumstance, that their suffering must have been short; since no three men could possibly have been long surrounded by fire with their senses about them, without ridding themselves of their gunpowder.

A close examination of the spot where the bodies were found, which was not very far from where Lieutenant Halkett had last seen them, seemed to show that they had ascended a tree from which to shoot such animals as might fly from the forest: some sudden change of wind appears to have brought the fire on them. One of them seemed to have dislocated his wrist, and to have broken the bones of his arm, in leaping, no doubt, wildly from the tree: his comrades may have perished through a vain attempt to rescue him.

Doctor Hibbert was a young man of great acquirements and great industry; and the service, by this most unhappy occurrence, was deprived of a very valuable medical officer. His taste and skill as a draughtsman were very remarkable; and his promised assistance would have given a value to these pages which they cannot now possess.

All three were buried in one grave, on the morning of the 31st; and the men of their regiment, the 2nd or Queen's Royals, raised a cairn over the spot, of sufficient size to attract notice, and put together with sufficient care to secure endurance. The recorded verdict of the inquest did not satisfy the men, and the spirit of revenge was bitterly expressed. They were all interesting and amiable men, much beloved in their circle and by the soldiery; and, had the regiment been led that evening to a charge on the Beloochies, the sad sight of their mutilated officers would have been fearfully remembered.

## CHAPTER VII.

Previous history of the district of Sind.—Reports of an approaching engagement, and strength of the enemy.—Prospects of enormous booty.—Cause of our misunderstanding with Sind.—Ultimatum of our Government.—The Government of Sind.—Its sovereignty shared by nine princes.—Anarchy consequent on such a system.—Announcement of an accommodation with Sind.—Army encamp near Hyderabad.—Visits to the city.—Varying accounts of the strength of its garrison.—Major B——'s estimate.—The Greek Commandant.—Major B——'s adventure with a mounted Beloochy.—Proceedings of the Reserve.—Kurachy taken, and occupied by them.

THE origin, and cause, and object of the war will no doubt be stated in official documents, and received as authentic by those who revere the highest authority; but, until the powers that be are pleased to enlighten the vulgar, it only remains that Gossip should enjoy her chatter,

and that we should register her profound speculations and philosophic history.

The district of Sind, for many ages past, had been a tributary of the Affghan kingdom of Kaubool; but on the dismemberment of that state, and its splitting into the separate principalities of Kaubool, Kandahar, Heraut, Peshawar, and Kelaut, the Talponi tribe in Sind were able to assert their independence, and to discontinue the payment of the tribute, once estimated at fifteen lahks of rupees per annum, which Kaubool had levied on them in the days of its power.

The exiled monarch of Kaubool had never forgotten his claim on Sind; and, in the several collisions that have occurred betwixt the British and Sind authorities since 1814, is said to have repeatedly demanded nuzeranas, or homage-money, from Sind, under the threat of ceding his claim on the country to the British Government. These demands are further said to have always occasioned a very serious embarrassment to the court of Sind; and a long-sighted policy would have foreseen and prevented the result

which has definitively reduced Sind to be a humble dependent on the British empire.

The arrival of the Persian monarch before Heraut, with the Russian envoy Simonitch in his camp, and the successful negotiation of the Russian agent Wikowitch at Kaubool, left the British Government, it was supposed, no option but to establish a supremacy in Kaubool, and to advance their frontier beyond the Indus, unless they would consent to have some Russian envoy in every capital along its water, and a Russian fleet in the Indian ocean, with its arsenal at Kurachy.

During the brief period of Sind independence, the peace of its government had been disturbed by a far more serious summons than the eleemosynary messages of Shah Soojah: the princes of Sind had not only broken off their own dependence, but had appropriated the important district of Shikarpore, which state was claimed in the arrogance of conquest by Runjeet Sing, as part of the principality of Peshawar, which he had wrested from the fallen Affghan monarchy, and added to his newly-consolidated

states of the Punjaub. To arrest this evil, the Sind government appear to have looked as their last resource to England; and the cession of Shikarpore, to be occupied by British troops, was formally offered, with a large proportion of the revenue, on condition of guaranteed independence, and protection from their northern superior.

The commercial treaty for the trade of the Indus can never be applauded for its sagacity or fitness for the objects aimed at. Passing minor matters,—in the first place, the wish to overreach Runjeet Sing by a manœuvre, introduced one article, that the navigation of the river should be peremptorily closed against the conveyance of military stores: thus, to debar Runjeet Sing from a benefit which the commonest intellect must have seen we could by one word have nullified when used to our disadvantage, we denied ourselves the right of forming an arsenal on the spot where its position insured the safety of India, and rendered any attempt from the West impracticably chimerical. Had Russia been our bitterest and

most vigilant enemy, she could not have dictated a more important article to our injury and her own interests. In the second place, the mischievous ignorance of all that it was handling, and all that related to it, assessed the river toll at such a sum on each boat as raised the amount on the maximum tonnage available on the waters of Sind to one rupee per maund of twenty-eight pounds, and this whether the freight were wool, wheat, or the shawls of Cashmere; thus, by one dash of a pen, embargoing the navigation of one of the most important and most interesting rivers in the world.

Such a state of affairs could not last; new treaties and new negotiations were needed; and, occurring under new circumstances, the whole political aspect and interests of the frontier line became agitated and involved, and the most unexpected results have followed.

The history of these treaties in their preliminary and ratified details may perhaps hereafter proceed from the pen of some party to the transaction: these pages are the mere gossip of the camp, and their claims to infallibility are

as humble as their author is humble. Suffice it to say, that it pleased Lord Auckland to guarantee the restoration of Shah Soojah, the exiled sovereign of Kaubool, to part of his former dominions, and the maintaining him in the secure possession thereof, on condition that the interests of Great Britain should be secured by a friendly, or, in simple terms, by a dependent power beyond its western frontier.

The minor details cannot well be ventured on, upon no better authority than conjecture. The exiled monarch at once became an ally; his contingent to be officered by British officers, and disciplined according to modern tactics, was fixed at six thousand men: the corps was quickly in the course of formation, and the subsidiary arrangement for the advance of the British forces to Kaubool proceeded with energy.

The grand outline of the campaign was the advance of two grand divisions of the Bengal army by a route following the valley of the Sutlege, to its junction with the Indus; thence crossing the river by Shikarpore to Kandahar,

the only supposed practicable route for artillery. On this march the restored monarch was to lead with his contingent, and to be supported by the British division; it being hoped that their vicinity would secure Shah Soojah from opposition, whilst their non-appearance on the scene of action would save Affghan pride any unnecessary humiliation. A third division from Bombay was to proceed through Sind, and to occupy Shikarpore, whilst the Bengal troops advanced to Kandahar, in order to maintain the communication and cover their rear.

On the unexpected issue of the siege of Heraut, and the retreat of the Persian monarch, our affairs assumed a less-threatening aspect. We had an ally in Kamran Shah, the Prince of Heraut, on the extreme west, instead of our most serious foe, the Russianized Persian army; and the Affghan Prince of Kelaut being considered to be more disposed to profit by our alliance than to risk the consequences of our hostility, the *de facto* sovereign of Kaubool was left alone to bear the brunt of the war, and to be deposed to make way for the restoration of

*the de jure* monarch, whom he had himself previously dethroned and exiled.

Dost Mahomed of Kaubool, though a vigilant and energetic soldier of fortune, was but a secondary power; and arrangements were now made that only one division of the Bengal force should march to Kandahar, while the other should remain organized and halted at Ferozepor, to meet contingencies, and be prepared for any of those unexpected and untoward occurrences which sometimes take the battle from the strong, and the race from the swift, by unlooked-for accidents.

The field-division of the Bengal army, therefore, left Ferozepor, under Sir W. Cotton, on the 8th November 1838, and reached the Indus on the 27th January, a march of seven hundred miles; and there this history leaves them, to follow the fortunes of the Bombay division.

Our advance to Jerruk having been described, it remains to state that every voice foreboded war, and that every step in advance was to be fought for and won ere we proceeded. The army of Beloochies at Hyderabad was considered

by high authority as exceeding fifteen thousand men, trebled by vulgar report, and endowed with all the mettle that usually belongs to men in buckram: whilst, finally, the treasure of the Princes of Sind was estimated at two hundred lahks of rupees; and a subaltern's share of the booty was calculated to promise him from ten to twenty thousand rupees, — a golden prospect, and a cheering excitement to battle! A blither day, therefore, never dawned on an army than did the 25th of January on the Bombay division of the army of the Indus at Jerruk.

It has transpired, that on the first discussion the Government of Sind was called upon, as a component part of the Affghan dominions, to pay its quota for the restoration of Shah Soojah; and the sum was fixed at twenty-eight lahks of rupees, in lieu of the arrears of tribute, rated at nine lahks per annum, which had remained unpaid since 1805: but it was not supposed that they would admit the right to demand a payment so long discontinued. A force was therefore ordered to be prepared to support the negotiation.

The subsequent discussions remain under the seal of official secrecy, and can only be conjectured by their result, or by accidental disclosures; but it was generally believed that our Government had ascertained beyond a doubt, that, when the monarch of Persia was before Heraut, the Princes of Sind had sent a message of congratulation and welcome to him, and had offered their hearty wishes and cordial co-operation towards assisting in the expulsion of the British from India! This, or something approaching to it, must have occurred, and called for a higher tone from Lord Auckland's government; and the resentment against these pretended friends, but concealed enemies, was prompt and unequivocal. It was decided that the frontier of the Indus should be insisted on, and the Princes of Sind compelled to pay their quota as a perpetual tribute, in the same manner, though to a smaller extent, than had formerly been paid by Sind to Kaubool; the amount being fixed at four lahks, and the force, to be permanently cantoned in Sind, at five thousand men.

That the Princes of Sind should feel indignant at this harsh ultimatum, is not to be wondered at; and it cannot be matter of surprise that some apprehensions were entertained by Government of a sanguinary struggle, or that victory would be dearly purchased. Thus, though the Bombay division was probably double what was necessary, and, from the poverty of the country, was encumbered by its own weight, and straitened beyond measure for forage and even for provisions, a reserve force of three thousand men was hurried up from Bombay, and a requisition was sent to the advancing Bengal division to detach a strong brigade southward from Roree, where it was crossing the Indus, to co-operate in the reduction of Hyderabad.

A more singular system of government was never organized, or rather existed without organization, than the wretched oligarchy of Sind. The pedigree of horses is held sacred by jockeys, and heralds delight to trace through all their ramifications the lineage of those whose ancestors drew long-bows at Hastings; but this feeling has seldom gone so far as to value the

genealogy of the "Black Princes" of any family of Hindostan. However long-descended may be the Princes of the Talpori dynasty of Sind, suffice it to say, that, some forty years ago, some bold adventurer lifted up his standard, and collected a rabble-rout against the preceding race of Kuloora. The insurrection ceased to be treasonable by being prosperous, and the power devolved on the strongest.

The new monarch, through brotherly affection, or through the necessity which made the first Norman grant so large a fief to the Earl of Warremne and the residue of his chiefs, admitted his brothers into an equal share in the sovereignty, and the monarchy became a triumvirate. At his death, the brothers ungenerously attempted to deprive his son of the consideration due to his birth; but the young man, after some years of neglect, took arms, and asserted what may be called his rights, which he secured either by his own courage or through the cowardice of his uncles. In process of time they died, and a few changes of family have now left Sind under the rule of four princes residing at

Hyderabad; three princes residing at Khyrepore, two hundred miles north; and two residing at Meerpoor, probably seventy miles south and east of Hyderabad. An oligarchy of nine sovereigns! in a country not three hundred and twenty miles in length, and of an average breadth of habitable land less than one hundred miles!—the most thinly-peopled and the most miserably poor I ever travelled through, and the least able to support this tailor-like personification of royalty, requiring precisely nine Ameers, or princes, to make up one sovereign!

These exalted gentlemen agree apparently in only one point, the most intense mutual hatred and distrust of each other. The districts are divided by lot, each selecting a village in succession; and, as contiguity of site is the last object considered, it follows that scarcely any two adjoin:—whence, as the animosities of the head are shown by the vibrations of the tail, the peace and happiness of a country may be imagined where the monarchy is merely held together by the fear of foreign interference;

where no two adjoining villages belong to the same palatine and independent sovereign lord; and where the village police authorities throughout recommend themselves to their respective sovereigns by thwarting, resisting, and annoying the police authorities of the village adjacent, to the utmost extent in their power short of open hostility.

Such a rope of sand, such a pyramid on its apex instead of its base, cannot possibly be imagined; and the attacking it by cautious steps, and measured, slow approaches, offers a strong contrast to the campaigns of Lord Lake, and the first siege of Seringapatam.

The wife of Hotspur could not tell what she had not been told, nor can these pages disclose the chain of accidents or reasoning by which the Princes of Sind were induced to confess that all their pretensions were at an end, and their last hope of deceiving the British political authorities, and of concealing their lack of power, was reluctantly abandoned. It must have been a bitter acknowledgment, and was

very possibly as much a matter of surprise to the dignitaries of Sind themselves as it may have been to our own officials.

To conclude this eventful history. On the evening of the 31st January it was announced through the camp, with telegraphic speed and brevity, that we were to have "no fighting and no prize-money."

The first peremptory refusal of the Ameers of Sind to accept the treaty had been followed by a Sibylline visitation, not in reducing its quantity and increasing its value, but in adding other articles, and in advancing the amount of first demands. The final treaty was said to be the right to canton a British army at Tatta, which the Ameers ought not to have resisted, since fever would soon have rid them of their enemies; the payment of twenty-eight lahks of rupees to Shah Soojah, in lieu probably of all arrears due to Kaubool since 1805, or thereabout, when the tribute was last paid; and the future payment of four lahks of rupees per annum to the British Government in money-payment, — which is eminently the most judicious

proceeding that can be imagined, since no native government will ever pay four lahks a-year without every species of procrastination and subterfuge; and the end will be, either sequestration of country, or the farming out of the districts to bankers for security of regularity of payment; and in either case the British Government will gain an infinitely more advantageous hold of Sind than could be secured under the present declaration of disinterestedness.

The treaty being definitively sealed and ratified, the army left Jerruk on the 3rd of February; and the following day encamped at Kotry, on the western bank of the Indus, opposite to Hyderabad, which is four miles from the river, and on another branch termed the Fulaila, which by the caprice of this wild current is now nearly dry, and presents during the ebb of the river no continuous current, having only occasional pools, though a broad expanse of water during the inundation.

Our troops found a silent dusty plain on which to encamp; and the opposite bank of the

river, which had been represented to be covered with some thousands of Beloochies, was equally silent, solitary, and dusty: no sign of hostility, or means for being hostile, were manifest; but the utter nakedness of the land was everywhere evident. One round tower of considerable magnitude distinguished the palace of the Ameers. All else that could be seen of Hyderabad was a confused mass of walls, roofs, and trees, and the whole enveloped in the dusty atmosphere of Sind; of which it may be boldly asserted, that it is the densest dust on the earth in which any nation lives and breathes, or rather dares to breathe, yet can live.

We were in "unity, peace, and concord;" but only one of the four Ameers of Hyderabad paid the Commander-in-chief, and member of the Bombay Government, the compliment of a visit, by sending his son, a lad, with an apology for his own inability to come in person, on account of indisposition. The others held aloof; and we were told that, though the presence of our force compelled the prompt payment of ten lahks of rupees,—the first instalment of the

twenty-eight due to Shah Soojah,—yet that the chiefs had toiled and travailed sore to persuade their mutinous Beloochies to refrain from hostilities: nay, it was asserted, "that the Ameers had been compelled to pay five lahks to their Beloochies ere they could venture to pay ten to us."

I mention this only as the gossip of the camp; but it was generally asserted by natives, and believed by us, that the Achilles of Sind was one of the Ameers of Meerpore, the truculent genius who had arrested the progress of our camels from Kutch; and that his cousins, the Ameers of Hyderabad, had paid him and his people two lahks to make it agreeable to them to join the rendezvous at Hyderabad; but, when it was ascertained that we were not playing this time, and that a conflict was certain unless averted by submission, the rude soldier and his unruly rabble affected to maintain their warlike disposition, and contrived to extort three lahks more as a second bribe to induce them to return to their villages without committing their government by a cowardly at-

tack of some thievish kind on the British boats or stores.

For three days we were prohibited from entering Hyderabad; but on the fourth it was announced that officers, under certain regulations, might visit the city; and many went, whose accounts all agreed that, as a town, it was rather dirtier and meaner than the average second-rate provincial or zillah towns in India; but no two gave the same opinion on the Beloochy garrison. By some they were estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand warriors, manly, martial, and excited to the last degree, and restrained only by some unaccountable dispensation of Providence from attacking our camp.

Among others who went was my friend Major B——, who, without having any taste for the discovery of mares'-nests, could see as far into a millstone as his neighbours. He not only used his own eyes, but employed two intelligent natives accustomed to observation to ascertain the strength of the enemy; and his estimate was something above one thousand five hundred, and below two thousand. He drank a

bottle of beer, and another of Madeira, with a Greek, the Commandant of the Hyderabad artillery; and ascertained that his liquor was better than his ordnance, — that the guns were nearly as certain to have killed the gunners as the enemy, had they been fired; added to which, the redoubtable cannoneer admitted, as his heart warmed with liquor and love of the English, and joy at the honour of drinking with an English field-officer, that he eked out his stipend of seventy-five rupees per month by inserting some two hundred paper men upon his muster-roll, and that, through the goodness of God, he was sole muster-master.

In coming home, Major B—— was joined by a well-mounted Beloochy horseman; and the free-masonry which enables good fellows to distinguish kindred spirits at a glance, made them at once acquainted. "Is your horse an Arab?" said the Beloochy. "I'll race with you."—"Good!" said the Major, "here goes!" and away they rode, neck or nothing, for a mile; and the Beloochy dead-beaten. — "I 'll try you again on smoother ground," said the Beloochy.

—"Anywhere, either smooth or rough," said the Major; and, the ground becoming more level, away they went again in the same frolicsome mood of overflowing spirits, but the Major still leading.—"It won't do, I see," said the Beloochy: "my horse is fat, and not in galloping trim, as yours is." — "The more the pity," said the Major: "there is no pleasure like riding with a good soldier on a good horse."

By this time they had reached the bank of the river, and the Beloochy accompanied his new friend to the ferry-boat; but the Major's horse, though it could gallop free enough, was restive at the sight of the ferry-boat, and the Major, somewhat wroth, was beating him in. "Don't beat him, don't beat him, if you love me," said the Beloochy. "Insha Alla! I'll teach you how to put your horse into a boat without beating him." The simple mode was to fasten a rope to one of the fore-legs, and the two boatmen dragging at it, till it was lifted up in the attitude of King Charles's steed at Charing-cross, and until it became an impossibility that he should kick: thus secured, the Be-

loochy taking up an oar by one end, and giving the other to the Major, they stood on each side, and, applying the middle of the oar against the horses' buttocks, pushed away, till the poor brute, losing his balance, had nothing left but to fall on his nose headlong, or to jump into the boat, which he forthwith did, with the meekness of a lamb. "You have taught me a wrinkle, my friend," said Major B——. And at least one British officer and one well-mounted Beloochy met and parted in mutual good-will, after half an hour of pleasant fellowship.

I did not visit the city,—not through incuriousness, but that my health and head, somewhat the worse for twenty-eight years' baking of my brains within the tropics, cannot bear with impunity a day's exposure to the sun; and the crossing of the river, and the ride to the city and through it, and the return and the recrossing, could not be performed under the better part of a day.

Still I must add, in my own defence, that, if all who did go had not agreed that the ride was not repaid by the gratification, and that there

was literally nothing worth seeing, I consider it legitimate good cause to risk a headache, and to spend four or six hours in the sun, to see the capital city of a native sovereignty: but here there appeared some risk of insult, as well as other inconveniences. A contemptible enemy, that has not been crushed, has a plea of justification to indulge in a little flourish of impertinence; and specimens of this were mentioned, which no man experienced in native character would put himself in the way of, if he could conveniently keep clear of the irritation.

On the evening of the 4th, we heard a native report that Kurachy had been bombarded by the Admiral, and destroyed by one broadside. On the 6th, a letter arrived from Brigadier Valiant, K.H. of her Majesty's 40th regiment, commanding the reserve, dated the 3rd, and stating that her Majesty's ship Wellesley, seventy-four, and Hannah transport, having on board her Majesty's 40th regiment and a company of artillery, had arrived before Kurachy on the 2nd, and summoned the fort to surrender. The answer given by the Commandant was,

that he was "a Beloochy, and would die first."

It was fortunate for British interests that the credulity which swallowed the bait of the Beloochy braggadocia, and halted the army at Jerruk, was not the weakness of Sir Frederick Maitland the Admiral, or of Brigadier Valiant. Fishing-boats had been captured; and the fishermen, either instructed to lie, or lying for the pleasure of it, and the habit which makes it the second nature of a Sindian, gravely assured the Admiral and the Brigadier that the fort of Manora at the entrance of Kurachy harbour was most formidably manned and prepared for a siege; and that one of the Ameers of Sind, with a column of three thousand men, had actually arrived at Kurachy for its defence. "By all means!" said the Admiral, "then we shall have the first trial of them; the more the better!" Dispositions were quickly made for the attack: the 40th regiment and artillery landed, and the ship was brought near for action. When all was ready, the fort was a second time most humanely summoned; to which it was re-

plied, that "the fort might be stormed, but should not be surrendered;" and they forthwith commenced hostilities by firing on the Algerine from the fort. The Wellesley instantly opened her broadside, which in an hour dismantled the breastwork of the fort. Not another shot was fired by the enemy, who seem to have been horrified, aghast, and panic-struck by the first hail-storm clatter of the Wellesley's batteries. Being seen flying out of the fort, the firing ceased; and a party going up to the place, and entering by a breach, found it empty; when the flying garrison, being all captured, was found to consist of twenty men. So much for Beloochy valour, and the countless thousands of their muster-roll; the most important fortress in the country garrisoned by a score of combatants, and the fort itself dismantled and breached in less than an hour!

The town of Kurachy was surrendered immediately, and occupied next day by her Majesty's 40th regiment, and the head-quarters of the reserve force stationed there. It is, I believe, chiefly, if not entirely, due to Brigadier

Valiant, that the Bombay Government obtained Lord Auckland's sanction to prevent the removal of her Majesty's 40th regiment to Tatta; and, if the judgment and foresight which preserve lives be equal virtues with the bravery and science which are used to destroy, Brigadier Valiant has no humble claim for consideration in having prevented the same fate befalling the gallant 40th which did befall the unfortunate 22nd and 26th regiments of Bombay Native Infantry at Tatta.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Movements of the Bengal division.—The Bombay division resumes its march. — Fertility of the district. — Charge against Zadig Shah of enhancing prices in the bazaars.— A court of inquiry appointed. — Result of the investigation unknown. — Decayed towns of Sun and Aumry. — Pulla fishery at these places.—Curious mode of fishing.— Description of the fish.—Whimsical notions entertained by the natives respecting its habits.—Picturesque situation of Lukky.—The Lukky Mountains.—Punishment of three camel-"lifters."—Death of Lieut. Campbell.—Reflections.—Arrangements for crossing the pass.—Vexatious intelligence.—Crowded state of the pass. — Perilous defile.—Appearance of the river from the summit of the ridge. — Ruins of Sehwan. — Speculations on its ancient history. — March of the Macedonian army. — Errors of modern writers. — Resumption of our march. — The "Garden of Sind." — Contre-temps. — A mistake of orders.—Consequent confusion in the camp.—Lose my way in company with Zadig Shah.—Town of Larkhanu. —Moderate prices of provisions.—General order incorporating us with the Army of the Indus.

THE arrangement which detained the army two months betwixt the landing at the Hujamry

and Jerruk, seven marches and a distance short of eighty miles; and the ignorance of the enemy's real means, which halted us there at the moment when the decisive blow might have been struck, and all the difficulties of the campaign overcome at its outset, — were not only evils of the first magnitude in themselves, but the cause of worse mischiefs pursuing them.

The Bengal army arrived at Roree, where it was destined to cross the Indus, on the 27th of January; at which date the Bombay division might have been there to meet them: but we were then supposed to be at bay among the myriads of Beloochies; and the Bengal troops, instead of resting men and cattle after a march of upwards of seven hundred miles, hurried on along the eastern bank of the Indus by forced marches to our relief, and had travelled upwards of one hundred miles southward ere they were countermanded; the whole distance of which they had to march back again.

The Bombay division resumed its march on the 10th of February; a dust storm on the 12th, continued through the 13th, at Kassye

and Majendy, will be long remembered by those who endured the torment. Our journey now lay through a fertile and peopled country. It is true that mere villages bore the designation of towns and cities, and showed that the dwarfs of India would pass for giants here; but still, as a contrast with the region betwixt the Hujamry and Hyderabad, this was a wealthy district. But we were now to starve in the midst of plenty; our Hyderabad Mehmander, Zadig Shah, was accused by Captain Outram of the most dishonourable practices in the bazaars to profit by our supplies, thereby raising all prices tenfold, and levying full payment from our commissariat for whatever the Ameers of Sind had been assessed for the restoration of Shah Soojah. There can be little doubt but that a large proportion, if not the whole of the sum paid by the Ameers, has returned to their treasury in increased revenue, under one head or another, through our expedition in Sind.

The charges of Captain Outram were stoutly resisted by Lieutenant Eastwick, one of Colonel

Pottinger's assistants; and a military court of inquiry, of which General Willshire was president, having heard both the accuser and the defendant at Larkhanu, concurred with Captain Outram. The result was never publicly announced, but the Home Government should know that such an occurrence took place; and that, however trifling an item in the expenditure of the campaign a few lahks of rupees more or less of commissariat charges may be, and however desirable it may occasionally be for governments to wink at fraud on the public treasury by a favoured ally, yet such payments fell heavily on the juniors of the officers, and ruinously on the native soldiers. Major Billamore of the 1st Bombay regiment, and Major Artchison of the 5th, deserve honour for the stand they made in support of the claims of their men; and the occurrences and notes that passed thereon will not readily be forgotten.

February 14th.—Halted at Sun, the relic of an ancient town of some extent and population; and next day at Aumry, also fallen from a

better state; both on the bank of the river, which seemed here receding from the western and, no doubt, encroaching on the eastern shores.

At these places we first saw the Pulla fishery on the Indus; a piscatory pursuit which more nearly reduces the human form divine into an aquatic beast of prey than Izaak Walton, or any disciple of the "gentle craft," could have contemplated by the silver Thames. A large, light, and thin earthen vessel of the strong and unequalled pottery of the Indus' clay so thoroughly baked, forms the fisherman's float: it is fully four feet in diameter, and about thirty inches high; of a very flattened form, and exceedingly buoyant. On this the fisherman balances himself on his stomach: covering the short neck and small aperture at top, and launching himself forth on the current, paddles with his legs behind to steer his course, drifting with the stream, and holding his pouch-net open to receive the prey, which, when caught, he deposits in his reservoir, the vessel he floats on.

agreed with me; but the pulla is intensely stronger.

The fish we saw averaged twenty inches in length, and might weigh a pound and a half, or nearly two pounds: the shoals are migratory, and ascend the river as far as Bukka betwixt January and April. The natives imagine that they travel thither on a religious pilgrimage to the shrine of Kajuu Kizr; and gravely assure us, that, on attaining, and swimming round, the holy islet and shrine of the saint, they followed our St. James's court etiquette, where no courtier's back can possibly be turned upon sacred royalty, and that the poor pilgrim fishes never presented their tails towards the hallowed Kuddum zah (footstep-place) of the saint till fairly round, and back again past the islet.

On the 16th of February we reached Lukky, and orders were issued for marching the next day to Sehwan; but it was ascertained that the pass was impracticable for artillery. It is quite out of my power to explain how it fell,

that having halted at Kotry, near Hyderabad, from the 4th to the 10th of February, no one had been sent in advance to survey the route: but I heard it stated, and I believe it to be true, that Major Campbell, Quartermaster-General, did wish to detach a surveying party in advance, and was not allowed to do so; consequently, no part of the responsibility of the unexpected detention under the pass can be transferred to his department.

The situation of Lukky is singularly picturesque, being near an immense lake, which appears at some former period to have been a reach of the Indus, and seems a mile wide and several miles in length. The Lukky mountains, apparently upwards of one thousand feet high, and some of the pinnacles of the range probably one thousand five hundred feet, here slope down, and present a broad shoulder for about three miles towards the river: along the base of this, for near two miles, was a bank which some ages ago must have been thrown up against the rock, and which, when

we passed, was upwards of a hundred yards in width, covered with stately forest-trees and huge tamarisks of the largest growth. Over this bank the whole army passed on the 20th, but not a vestige of it now remains; and on my return from the army, in January 1840, by the river, my boat glided close under the mountain, over the very site where the bank had been, and over which the army had marched eight months before: so great a change occurring under our eyes in so short a time, may explain changes that would appear inexplicable and incredible in any other country.

The geological appearance of the Lukky hills at this spot will no doubt be fully illustrated by some more erudite scribbler than myself; but without reference to the wonders of Creation, and the changes made since on the world's crusty surface, it was a most interesting occupation to visit the mountains, and the hot springs which issued from them. There appeared at this termination to the eastward of this spur of the

great chain of mountains running from the Hindoo Kosh to the sea, betwixt Kurachy and Soumeeany, to be two parallel ranges, extending irregularly in a line from south-west to north-east; average height estimated to exceed one thousand feet, and the loftiest peaks about fifteen hundred. These ranges, as far as our view extended, appeared, at about every two miles of their length, to be split across by a huge fissure descending through the heart of the mountain, evidently rent asunder by some convulsion of nature; the two opposite faces of the cliffs precisely corresponding to each other in strata and figure, distinctly indicated separation, there being hollows in the one where there were projections in the other. Through one of these fissures we made our way into the valley betwixt the two ranges; and I have never seen a more fearful dell. One or two miserably stunted trees, with ragged and half-naked branches, and seared leaf, added to the desolate and unnatural appearance of the valley. A brook of dingy discoloured water,

tainted with the sulphuretted chalybeate of the hot spring, emitted a smoky fetid vapour, and occasioned a closeness of the air disagreeable to breathe. The valley was nowhere a hundred yards broad, and seldom beyond fifty, and merely formed the bed of this unearthly rivulet. The hot springs were numerous in every part of the valley; some at 102°, and others at 108° of Fahrenheit. Crusts of calcareous deposit, strongly impregnated and coloured with sulphur, covered every pebble or stick that lay in the watercourses. The taste of the water was not pleasant; but, excepting the disagreeable temperature, not very offensive.

A wilder scene than the appearance of these hills I have never seen. I do not ape the philosopher, nor pretend to explain: I only say, let us suppose, on the first drainage of the earth after the reign of chaos, the first separation of wet from dry, successive deposits of sand and conglomerate, or pebbles, to have been laid in alternate strata of about ten to twelve feet thick, with a plentiful sprinkling of sea-shells in each stratum, now fossilized; then

that an earthquake convulsion shall have heaved up the originally level surface in two parallel waves, forming two ranges of hills, in the hollow betwixt which a rivulet, the drainage of the superior portion of the mountains, and carrying off the local springs, has added the action of water to alter the interior, or valley faces, of the hills.

Ranges of hills of a thousand feet elevation, and apparently not having a thousand yards of base, are not likely to have been formed in alternate layers of sand and pebbles, as accurately defined as the skins round the bulb of an onion; I presume, therefore, the geologist will consider the original deposit to have been made on a level surface.

But the most extraordinary part was the aspect of the relics of the pebbly layers. The upheaving of a level surface to such a height would occasion all the upper layers to be broken short; and this was precisely the state of the mountain; whilst the action of water having apparently washed away the soft sand, the pebbly ridges stood erect like the ribs of a

wrecked ship. I cannot imagine a more interesting scene for science and the habits of observation to draw practical lessons from, to enable us to reason on less obvious causes, and less easily understood changes on the earth's surface.

On the 18th of February, we had, I think, our first public exhibition of the punishment of our camel-"lifters." Three Beloochies, detected and captured in the act of attempting to steal camels, were treated after the summary system of military punishment, led through the camp and village bazaars, receiving two dozen stripes in each camp bazaar; and finally, in the village, their heads and beards shaved, and thus dismissed. Such punishment was the extreme of gentleness and mercy compared to what any native power would have inflicted; and, as a specimen of their lenity, one of the offenders, on being unbonneted to be shaved, was found lacking one ear, indicating that he had already tasted punishment for theft, and was an old offender.

We had no cause of quarrel with the Sindians for thefts; a camp like ours would have suffered more from robberies in one night in Guzerat than we had done for the three months we had been in Sind. They were, however, by no means wanting in a less violent, but not less efficacious mode of "spoiling the Egyptians,"—that is, of acquiring by craft. A more bare-faced course of legal robbery was never practised than was carried on under the supposed suggestion of the rulers of the country; the bazaar prices being everywhere quadrupled on our approach, and our servants and followers reduced almost to starvation by prices high beyond all that was ever heard of before in India, and that, too, in a country proverbial for its cheap markets, and abundance of grain and forage.

Our halt at Lukky was saddened by the decease, after only five days' illness, of Lieutenant Campbell of the 1st regiment Cavalry. He was some family connection of Sir James Carnac, and was building largely on his supposed bril-

liant prospects under Sir James's government. Alas! and thus is it that our castles in the air come tumbling down, and are as speedily destroyed as easily imagined: "air they are, and into air they soon fade and vanish!" He died on the 19th, and was buried on the 20th.

A working-party of five hundred men of the 5th regiment, and five hundred dooly-bearers, had been employed since the 16th removing obstacles on the face of the hill, levelling irregularities, and dragging the guns to the summit. The artillery were over on the 20th, and the army marched the following day.

Sir John Keane had gone on to Sehwan to meet Sir H. Fane on his way down the Indus from Sukkur, where he had left the Bengal division.

The sick were ordered by General Willshire to remain behind, and follow the next day, to avoid the detention which must have resulted when all the baggage-train and commissariat supplies of the army were struggling through a defile. The result showed the wisdom of the

order; for, had they moved, they must have remained all day in the sun, and all night in the pass.

During the night, the official intelligence arrived that the army would make no halt at Sehwan, but push on. A more painfully disagreeable position could hardly be imagined for the head of the hospital department, with all the hospital stores and sick of the army in the rear, and with two marches to be made the next day,—the first a rough and long stage with a difficult mountain-pass to be surmounted, and a river of some importance in the second. Anxiety and bitter vexation caused me a sleepless night, arranging for the earliest possible departure. This was, of course, effected; and, on our reaching the defile, we found it crowded and almost choked with camels, and bullocks, and baggage-ponies, and everywhere strewed with the baggage of the army. A glance showed that, if the army had moved, a very large proportion of its baggage must have been left behind.

The road for the first five miles was in the

Lukky plain; and for the last two miles in the narrow defile on the bank betwixt the Indus and the mountains, in some places impracticable for more than one camel at a time: on one side the river, the bank an abrupt precipice of about fifty feet, which the current was undermining: and the mountain, rising almost perpendicularly to six or seven hundred feet, on the other. At the end of this perilous defile, where the bank under the mountain terminated, the road suddenly turned to the left, and ascended over the face of the hill; the declivity being moderated by following a cleft of the rock along the side of the mountain. Since the river has now carried away the whole of the bank, a new ascent has been sought nearer to Lukky, and a new road will soon be established; the mountain being neither too lofty nor precipitous to close up the communications of the country.

I dismounted at the ascent, and climbed to the ridge of the mountain by the straightest road. The broad river below was seen glittering under the bright light of the rising sun,

and twisting its mazy course in the most tortuous windings that the imagination could suppose possible for such a vast body of water to assume; the serpentine turns being not only returned upon each other in a perpetual repetition of the figure S, but their several twists being generally of the horseshoe-shape, with a mere span of land separating and forming the connecting isthmus of each peninsula, — not unlike the winding line which separates the colours in what the heralds call a *bordure nebulé*.

Sehwan is too well described by Sir Alexander Burnes to need more than a passing notice. Our fleet of store-boats, &c. had been favoured with a fair wind, and had arrived before us, and lay under the town. The same action of the river, which has since swept away the bank at Lukky, has also filled up the branch of the Indus running under Sehwan; and the city in a few years may be like Larkhanu, an inland town. Such are the river's changes in Sind.

The ruins of Sehwan present a most interesting

object for future leisurely examination, and for antiquarian classical speculation. They form by far the most important relic of antiquity in this country: in fact, with the island fort of Bukkar, the only spot worth visiting to gratify curiosity of this kind in all Sind. The mosque of Lal-shah Baz would form but a very tenth-rate sort of building in any part of India, and would not be named either for its magnitude or architecture.

One farther remark only, and I will proceed: Sehwan is of Asiatic, not of Greek architecture, and cannot have been built by the Macedonians; its arches, and other peculiarities of style, are indisputably Oriental.

Nor yet is it likely to have been the capital city of the chief of the mountaineers, which Alexander took by mining; for the foundation of the fort is on a rock. The Beloochy chief of Khilaut has still the district of Gundava in the plain, and a winter capital in the lowlands of Sind. The severity of winter in 28° north, at eight thousand feet elevation, is sufficient to cause all who can afford it to remove from the

hills to the plains; and the modern history may explain the ancient.

Further, we are not to imagine that the Greek army would move as ours did, in one compact column, fed by its commissariats; for it is not to be supposed, notwithstanding the reports received of his revenues, that Alexander had the three millions sterling in his treasury which Lord Auckland had. His march must, therefore, have been in the most open order, covering the whole face of the country, relying upon its resources, and exhausting all its supplies as the military torrent rolled past. This would spread the Greek army on both banks of the Indus; and, whether the Sambus of antiquity ruled in Beloochistan, or betwixt Roree and Jeysulmeer, in either case there is a mountain tract for his people; and under any circumstances his capital must be supposed to have stood in the alluvial plain, and may have been as far as Gundava west, or as Khyrpor or Noushera east. But it must not be overlooked that Sambus is styled a ruler of Indian mountaineers, and, consequently, that his

principality and his capital have the probability of being on the eastern or Indian side of the Indus; this militates against Vincent's theory, which places Sindomana at Sehwan.

The Abbé Terrasson, translating from Diodorus Siculus, book xvii. cap. 56, edition Amsterdam, 1769, gravely asserts that Alexander's first attacks on the natives as he descended the Indus were "*à l'orient du fleuve*,"—which is an interpolation: the original does not state whether it was to the east or to the west. Again, the historic charts of Le Sage, published in Italian at Florence, carry the boundary of Alexander's dominions over the Jeysulmeer country. I have not the means of tracing the first error to its source, nor of explaining the chart. Diodorus distinctly says that Sambus was sovereign of a nation of Brahmins — I presume of Hindoos; and that he fled with thirty elephants "very far inland from the banks of the river." The probabilities in this case indicate that his dominions were eastward of the Indus.

The army crossed the Arul over a pontoon bridge on the 23rd. Our encampment at Tirity

was in the midst of the most interesting landscape we had yet seen:—a fine lake, apparently half a mile wide, and winding in a crescent form probably three miles in length, surrounded by fine trees; a good town, and extensive cultivation. We were now in the Garden of Sind, which is the space betwixt Shikarpore and Sehwan, and probably one of the most fertile districts in India.

On the 24th occurred one of those *contre-temps* to which the best-regulated camps may be liable. Through some misunderstanding of the previous day's orders, several portions of the baggage sent in advance marched in different directions. The Commander-in-chief's tents were pitched three miles distant; the staff mess tent and servants had accompanied them; some extra fatigue to men and cattle was occasioned, but no harm done. The head-quarter staff party spent the day in a behr (jujube) garden; the shade of the trees compensated the want of tents, and we made up for the loss of our breakfast by a heartier dinner.

Here we had the first sight of the Bengal

followers; two messengers, dispatched by Mr. M'Naughten to Sir John Keane, meeting us on this ground. They were clad in scarlet, well armed, and mounted on camels very elegantly caparisoned. Their appearance and appointments gave us some idea of the retinue and outfit of the envoy and minister; and the liberality with which the Bengal Government adorns the tail of its official. A few of these splendidly equipped camel couriers were afterwards lent to Sir John Keane; and we heard that the Bengal staff had cause for amusement in observing the use to which they were applied.

A much worse mischance of orders misunderstood, and followers astray, occurred on the 1st of March. The Arul is an artificial canal, dug in some long-forgotten age by some patriot sovereign, or by some wise generation which preferred spending their money and labour on what was useful, rather than the usual waste of both, which kings and subjects are alike disposed to indulge in. It leaves the Indus below Larkhanu, and, forming a semicircle of about fifty miles' diameter, runs a course ex-

ceeding eighty miles. In order to delay the stream, and serve the purposes of irrigation, it has been dug in the most tortuous and serpentine course possible; presenting, when filled with the inundation, the exact appearance of a natural river. Every three or four miles along its bank were populous villages, with shady trees and rich cultivation around them.

We had crossed the Arul at Sehwan by a pontoon bridge, and required to recross it at Bukrany, near Larkhanu; but had relied on finding it fordable. When within a march of it, the report arrived that the waters of the river were rising by an earlier inundation than usual; and as we were on the 28th of February at Veer, only twenty-four miles from the Arul, the artillery were ordered next morning to quit the camp after midnight, and endeavour to cross the Arul, in the hope of reaching it before it was swollen too much to be fordable. The rest of the army were to halt at Futehpoor. The order for the advance of the artillery not having been generally known, the result was that a very large proportion of the followers of

the army accompanied the baggage-train of the artillery, and travelled to the Arul.

My own fate was different from that of the majority: I had accompanied, as was my wont, our Sindian Mehmander, Zadig Shah, who, though as thorough a rogue, as respected the army, as ever escaped the gallows, (that is, if half what was said of him by one well qualified to judge, be true,) was notwithstanding a very pleasant and communicative companion for a morning's march, knew all about the country, did not object to talk to me about it, enjoyed his joke, and rode chirruping along, like one who thought as the Vicar of Braye thought, that, no matter who ruled in Sind, the world should go well with Zadig Shah.

The idea of losing my way when travelling with the Sindian official, never occurred to me; and it was only when we had reached the Arul, that is, were sixteen miles further on than we ought to be, that we discovered our error. My friend Zadig Shah made very light of his disaster: he went at once to the nearest village, sent one of his horsemen to report where he

was to Mr. Eastwick, and another to collect his servants; then promised me a pipe and breakfast if I would dismount. Unhappily the enjoyment of the weed has been denied me by the niggard hand of Nature, my infirmity of head being overpowered by the first puff; consequently nothing remained for me but a struggle through a tamarind copse of dense brushwood, to regain the right road, and to gallop back as fast as I could. After a weary ride, exceeding thirty miles, I reached the camp at one o'clock. My tent was right, and my servants had not strayed: thus whilst others did not stray, but their servants did, I had a fruitless ride, but my servants were not fatigued. Great discomfort was experienced, especially by the sick, who, for the most part, had followed the artillery camp; whilst others were wandering all day in every direction about the country.

Next day we moved to Bukrany, and found the artillery had not crossed the Arul: happily the rise of the river paused that day, and on the next appeared to subside a little; it was as yet too early to expect the annual inundation. On

the 4th it was considered fordable for the artillery, cavalry, and baggage camels, and boats had been brought up for the infantry: not a moment was lost; the army crossed on that and the following days, and advanced to Larkhanu.

Larkhanu is the capital of a district, a rudely fortified town, with a sort of citadel at its western end, and is supposed to contain about five thousand inhabitants. The surrounding country is the Garden of Sind, richly cultivated with numerous villages; having a better appearance of comfort and peace, and the protection of a government, than anything we had as yet seen in the country. The cheap and plentiful bazaars of Larkhanu were less affected than those of any place we had visited by the demands of the army, and prices remained moderate.

Independent of the Arul, which is about five miles south, and takes a westerly and southerly direction round the country to Sehwan, there is another canal about eighteen feet deep and one hundred broad, which, coming from the Indus, passes closer to Larkhanu, and proceeds west-

ward and north: we subsequently travelled a stage of fifteen miles along its course.

It was dry at this time, and we were told that the inundation of the preceding year had not attained its height, and filled its bed as usual; but within every hundred yards of its extent there were wells dug in the channel, and an industrious agricultural population were seen employed in irrigating extensive tracts of the finest wheat-fields.

Our baggage, stores, and hospital-boats arrived at Larkhanu a few days after us; and the camp-sutlers continued to provide supplies of all kinds at a very reasonable advance on the Bombay prices. They would have reaped a rich harvest had they contrived to reach Sukkur in time to meet the Bengal column: this golden opportunity was lost, partly through the difficulty of procuring boats, which were all retained as fast as found for the commissariat; and partly through the hesitation at Tatta and Jerruk. The tradesmen not being allowed to risk their lives and commodities in advance,

long ere they reached Sukkur, the Bengal column had travelled beyond the reach of their anxious friends in the bazaar of the Bombay division.

On the 4th of March was issued the general order which announced that we were part and parcel of the army of the Indus. The public curiosity will ere long have had enough to satiate it, however inordinate, on all that relates to our military arrangements. I know not how many reams of paper, or how many gallons of ink have been expended in military and political histories; suffice it to say, that these are matters beyond my calibre, as well as beyond my ambition.

## CHAPTER IX.

Struggle for commissariat supplies between the Bengal and Bombay divisions.—Paper war between their partisans.—March of our division.—Shadiur.—Arrival at Keechry.—Fertility of the country near Jul.—Loss of one of my camels.—Accident to Captain Outram.—Recovery of my loss.—Departure of his Excellency for Kandahar.—General Willshire assumes the command.—Duplicity of the Khan of Khelaut.—Destruction of our mails.—Arrival of Captain Curtis with supplies.—Advance of the division.—Mangled corpse of a Beloochy.—Execution at Soony of two camel-stealers.—Inefficacy of the example.—Storm.—Fatal accident.—False alarm.—Confusion in the camp.—Discomforts of the service.—Daudur.—Bengal and Bombay field-equipage.—News from Kurachy.—Death of Colonel Powell.—Murder of Captain Hand.

WHEN the Bengal division marched from Roree to the rescue of the Bombay army in its perilous vicinity to the Beloochies of Hyderabad, the regular and irregular troops of Shah

Soojah, having crossed the Indus, made a parallel march on the western bank of the river, and advanced to Larkhana. Their pioneers had advanced two or three stages in front, and before our arrival at Larkhana we experienced the happiness of falling into the track of a better-appointed army than our own; and were unexpectedly convenienced by those preparations of a road, &c. which can be made by the simple plan of sending the pioneers a few days in front to level inequalities, cut down brushwood, and dig through water-channels. This arrangement was first learnt from the Bengal division; not because the staff of the Bombay army were incapable of imagining its advisability, but because our leader preferred that the pioneers should never be more than one day's march in advance, the dangers with which we were supposed to be environed rendering it prudent that the whole force should be within reach of mutual support.

Shah Soojah's force had returned to Shikarpore before our arrival at Larkhana, the Ben-

gal division had crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats at Bukkur, and everything was now prepared for the advance on Khandahar; but thereon commenced the struggle for the commissariat supplies and establishments, betwixt the Bengal and Bombay divisions, which occasioned so vehement a paper war in the columns of the Agra Ukhbur and the Calcutta Englishman.

Great was the vituperation bestowed on the Bombay column: and it was asserted by the Bengal correspondents, that no part of the Bombay division ought to have advanced beyond Shikarpore, and that the Bengal column was equal to all that was to be done; that every stage travelled by the Bombay troops was needlessly adding to the expense of the campaign by taking them away from their own presidency, whilst the Bengal troops had already reached what was nearly their maximum of distance, and the route to Kaubool was, in fact, approximating to the point whence they set forth from Loodiana. Finally, Sir Wil-

loughby Cotton, in command of the Bengal division, was gravely charged with having unauthorisedly made a bold start in the hope of leaving the Bombay division sufficiently far behind to have rendered it impracticable for them to trench on the resources of the leading column.

The particulars of all the momentous events of this momentous period will, no doubt, be fully detailed in the several forthcoming accounts of what the Earl of Auckland's manifesto declares to be the placing of a friendly power to the west, and what Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Esquire, of Bombay, has been pleased to designate "the conquest of Affghanistan;" the result seems to have proved, however, that the supply was not equal to the demand, and that the resources in our power were scarcely husbanded with sufficient caution.

Whilst the Bengal frontier authorities contemplated with "dry eyes" the advance of their commissariat from Loodiana, and sent three thousand camels across the Jeysulmeer desert from Ajemeer to Roree, Colonel Pottinger pro-

hibited the camels for the Bombay division collected at Deesa from crossing half the distance of the same route, and compelled them to march seven hundred miles round by Arrysir, and Bhooj, and Luckput, and through Sind, instead of three hundred miles across, *vid* Balmeer! Thus all the advantages and assistance that we might have derived from Guzerat and Marwar were denied us, or received only through Kutch, in a manner that nullified them by the delay and fatigue of a circuitous journey.

But the Bengal papers did not content themselves with charging the leader with a partiality for his Bombay troops, injurious to the Bengal army and to the public interests; it was peremptorily asserted that, whilst the pressure for carriage was so excessive, that even the field-hospital supplies of surplus medical stores of the Bombay division were left behind, and for which forty camels would have sufficed, his Excellency was pleased to appropriate two hundred and sixty of the commissariat public

camels for the conveyance of his own tents and chattels and the baggage of his staff. This was printed in every paper, roundly and publicly asserted in all shapes, and never in my hearing contradicted.

The officers of the Bengal Commissariat appeared to be altogether unprepared for the position in which they found themselves, and utterly astonished at the novel official tone adopted towards them; but this is their own affair, and they are fully equal to the narration of their own difficulties and grievances.

Suffice it to say, that the Bengal division was seriously crippled, and the Bombay division not half equipped: and the final orders were, that Brigadier Gordon with three of the Bombay native regiments should garrison Bukkur, to cover the rear of our advance, and keep up the communication of the army with the Indus. That the Bengal division should march by Shikarpore and Baug to Daudur, and through the Bolan Pass; and the Bombay division by Gundava, and if possible through the

Gundava Pass to Khelaut. The former were already advanced; and on the 12th March the Bombay division, now reduced to one thousand eight hundred and fifty Europeans, and one thousand eight hundred and twenty natives, left Larkhanu, travelling due east, to cross the desert to Gundava.

The third march brought us to Shadadpore: the country for the last twenty miles was more like the dry bed of a salt lagoon in an interval betwixt spring-tides, than an inland district; only two or three miserable villages were found in this dreary region, and even these were abandoned by the inhabitants, who, in ignorance of British discipline, apprehended the excesses of a native army. On the evening of the 14th General Willshire's brigade marched to cross the desert; some unlucky loss of road occasioned delay and fatigue, and the infantry brigade did not reach its destination till the next day at past two in the afternoon, having made a march exceeding thirty miles.

The following evening the head-quarter staff

and cavalry brigades crossed also. Our preparations for this our first serious difficulty were proportionate to its novelty and importance; but like the landing at the Hujamry, and the bravery of the Beloochies at Jerruk, this also proved more formidable in the contemplation than the accomplishment.

Our staff mess dinner was served at two o'clock, at four o'clock the baggage started, and at five o'clock the march commenced. In less than half an hour we reached the desert; not an expanse of loose heavy sand like the sea-beach when dry, as I had expected, but a boundless level plain of indurated clay of a dull dry earthy colour, and showing signs of being some times under water. At first a few bushes were apparent here and there, growing gradually more and more distant, until at last not a sign of vegetable life was to be recognised.

At eight o'clock a halt was called for rest; the march resumed in an hour, and continued until twelve o'clock. A short halt, and march again until two o'clock, when we found our-

selves across the desert at Shadiur: but this place, which had been intended to be our halt, had been found by General Willshire's leading column not to have water sufficient for the wants of the army, and he had proceeded onward to Keechry; thither therefore we followed.

It was a bright star-light night, and the plain, dry, level road of the desert, had offered no impediments: we had only the distance of thirty-two miles to conquer, and to those who were mounted it was merely the discomfort of the saddle instead of the pillow that we had to complain of; but, after leaving Shadiur, some anxiety occurred as to the route. The village abandoned by its inhabitants had been most unhappily set on fire by some of our vagabond followers making fires to warm themselves, and the blazing light illuminated the country round; the fire clearly marked the site behind, and the stars showed that our course, instead of north-east, had become south,—fortunately we were travelling right. By four o'clock, we reached

Keechry, where General Willshire was encamped. I was more fortunate than my companions; I had immediately on rising the preceding day sent my sleeping-tent and bed in advance, and on arriving at Keechry I found it on the ground. It was soon pitched; I enjoyed in a comfortable bed and sound sleep a sweet oblivion of toils and cares, and awoke at eight o'clock in the morning unconscious of fatigue.

The tinkling of the camel's bells upon the desert is a sound that does more than make a man wish himself the companion of truth in a well! it comforts him with the knowledge of where his servants and baggage are; and delightful was the intelligence imparted on this night. The broad level plain had permitted our baggage-train to travel undelayed by any impediment whatever; and great was our surprise to find they had made so much way, when we overtook them near Shadiur after midnight. Our tents were all up by sunrise, and no loss sustained by any one.

Our camp at Keechry was at the base of a

rocky range of hills, very much resembling the Lukky mountains; apparently of the same elevation, equally bare on the surface and rugged in the outline. A plentiful stream of water, in a channel brought from the mountains for irrigation, supplied us abundantly. We had no dearth in the bazaar; and, as respected our hospitals, after all the labours of such a march we had but seventy-seven Europeans in the sick report out of one thousand eight hundred and fifty, and forty-two natives out of one thousand eight hundred and twenty: it was evident that the army was not the worse for the labour it had gone through.

The preceding few days had been hot and sultry; clouds were now gathering; a thunderstorm on the night of the 17th cleared the air, and reduced the thermometer from 104° to 80°.

On the 18th we marched twenty miles to Jul, across another portion of the desert; halted the 19th; again advanced thirteen miles on the 20th to Punjkote; and on the 21st, twelve miles to Gundava. The country from Jul was

under the command of a plentiful supply of water, and needs only what the Duke of Wellington is reported to have said was equally wanted in England during the last session of Parliament, "a government."

With security of person and property, this district would have all the agricultural wealth that a rich soil and inexhaustible means of irrigation can bestow; but during the past forty years it has been a scene of anarchy and bloodshed, where every village was a robber's hold, and the field that was cultivated was guarded by the sword.

On the morning of the 21st, on our arrival at Gundava, I had the melancholy satisfaction of thinking that I was not the most unlucky wight in the Bombay column. On riding towards the new ground of encampment, I was met by Captain Outram, who told me, in the most consolatory tone and terms he could devise, that one of my camels, with all its load of my baggage, had been carried off by thieves. This was no jest. I had no knowledge of what was gone. It might

be all my clothes, part of my tent, all my supplies, or I knew not what. I galloped to the staff-lines, and found my camp-case, with all my table-furniture of plate, glass, and crockery, and half my wine, was the missing property.

Great indeed was my vexation; but, ere it was half digested, a clamour and rumour, as of some accident, were heard, and I soon ascertained that poor Outram, after leaving me, as I galloped one way to inquire into the extent of my disaster, and he the other, had had a most serious accident, his horse rolling headlong, and crushing him in the fall. He was dashed on the ground, with the hilt of his sword under him, and had suffered the very unusual injury of a fracture of the pelvis-bone at the crest of the ilium; and thus in a moment, and in the midst of a distinguished career of important usefulness, was this valuable officer to be a bedridden cripple, and the army to be deprived of his energetic virtues and profound knowledge. I felt ashamed to have repined at the loss of

some paltry property, when at the instant a calamity so much more distressing was occurring to one so peculiarly situated.

Captain Outram, after a month's confinement, resumed his duties; but he never regained his position until he left the chief's establishment, and displayed new qualities on a new field of action under the envoy and minister at Ghizni and Kaubool. His name was not mentioned in the Ghizni despatch, and he has not been honoured in the London Gazette; but his services have been fully acknowledged by the Bombay Government, and he has not suffered by the neglect of Lord Keane.

I suffered less in the end, as well as in the event, than my companion in misfortune; for a party of Major Cunningham's horse traced my stolen camel into a village, and thereon seized the village leader, and brought him into camp. The thieves were glad to ransom him by the restoration of my camel, and the chief part of its load. The rogues had broken open my boxes, and destroyed much of the glass and crockery.

The plate was by a strange luck all safe, a pair of plated dishes alone missing. It was a great satisfaction to think of the robbers' disappointment, when, expecting a booty of silver, they must have been mortified by finding it copper. The several articles were wont to be packed in green-baize bags. These bags had served the robbers for the distribution of their prey; and it was an exceedingly agreeable occupation to empty them in succession, and find the several articles that I had never hoped to see again.

On the 23rd March the Commander-in-chief and his personal staff took their departure from our camp, escorted by a wing of the 1st regiment of Bombay Cavalry, and another of the 19th regiment of Native Infantry; and we did not see them again until we reached Kandahar. The command now devolved on General Willshire, whose subsequent career, from this date to the brilliant exploit of the conquest of Khelaut, must form the chief subject of this narrative.

The party sent to explore the Gundava Pass had returned to camp before the chief's de-

parture, and pronounced it utterly impracticable for artillery; but, as General Willshire returned by that route in December following, it may be presumed that a different survey of the route might have been made, and a different report received on its capabilities.

The Khan of Khelaut had been largely bribed by money payments, and the most lavish promises of personal aggrandizement and extension of territory, to join the standard of Shah Soojah, and facilitate the advance of the army. His system appears to have been that of giving the most unqualified promises of allegiance and co-operation; eagerly accepting and appropriating whatever was offered, but performing nothing; and, instead of facilitating the advance of the army, throwing every obstruction in our way short of personally leading his followers and dependents on their plundering expeditions. Had the Bombay column advanced direct upon Khelaut, his position would have been so altered that his influence over the robber-tribes would have been diminished, if not destroyed; and all that

harassing uncertainty and predatory system which occupied the rear brigade in the vicinity of Shikarpore, and which rendered it necessary to leave General Nott's division and a corps of artillery at Quetta, might perhaps have been avoided.

Our evils of plundered posts, and the interruption of correspondence with Bombay and Bengal, commenced on the 27th of March; and from that date, to our arrival at Kaubool in August, no letter was despatched with any certain confidence of its reaching its destination. The destruction of our mails, in the pure wantonness of mischief, appeared the particular pleasure of our Beloochy allies, the subjects of the Khan of Khelaut; and they could not have taken a course more seriously or more painfully annoying. Some ludicrous, but by no means pleasant occurrences to the parties interested, were the result of fragments of correspondence reaching others than those for whom the original addresses had intended them.

On the 31st of March we had been joined

by Captain Curtis of the Bengal Commissariat, with the portion of the supplies on which the advance of the Bombay column depended; and General Willshire moved forward to Gajim.

The weather was now hot, and our marches commenced at such an hour after midnight as allowed of the journey being completed before the extreme heat of the day set in. On the 2nd of April we moved at midnight for a march of twenty-two miles, from Shooram to Shoony; which was completed by the cavalry before six, and by the infantry at half-past eight o'clock. On this march we first met with the subsequently familiar spectacle of a mangled corpse left weltering on the road where the deed of blood had been perpetrated; it was a beautifully clear moonlight night, and Macfarlane's lantern, which had formerly lighted the Scotch freebooters to the forage and the "kind gallows," had equally tempted and assisted the fallen Beloochy to his last expedition and its bloody close.

We stopped to examine the corpse: it was

that of a powerful athletic man, whose long, luxuriant, raven-black tresses fell in thick rich curls about his shoulders; the picturesque head-dress of the Beloochies being their natural hair, allowed to grow as wildly and profusely as nature permitted: and finer hair, in fuller, glossy, long, curly ringlets, I have never seen. Whilst on the subject, I may mention that, in crossing the desert, we found ourselves in contact with a new tribe, of much finer features, and more athletic bulk and greater height, than any we had left in Sind. I have seldom seen a countenance of a sweeter mild expression, or more deeply interesting to contemplate, than that of the representative and relation of Miraub Khan of Khelaut, the governor of Gundava: it more nearly approached the portraits left us by the old masters of the Italian art, of the divine object of Christian reverence than any living face I ever saw.

At Soony was first exercised the final summary proceeding of martial law on offenders detected, *flagrante delicto*, in the very act of

carrying off camels and baggage: two Beloochies, so arrested, were hung here by order of Sir John Keane. The village authorities being warned of the displeasure of the British Government if the bodies were touched, "You must hang them very high then, and cut away the lower branches," replied the local potentate; "for the whole population of these borders are such arrant thieves, that they will dislodge the dead from their airy swinging-place for the sake of the ropes you have bestowed to hang them!"

It admits of a query, whether an undisguised and most unmitigated flogging, that should have put the offenders *hors de combat* for a month, would not have operated more beneficially as an example than the execution. Such punishment would certainly have been more likely to have been heard of by their usual companions in the free-trade; and, as respects their forfeiture of life by their criminality, had they been killed in the capture or the affray, it is clear that they had put themselves into

the way of it, and might be supposed to have gone with their lives in their hands prepared for such contingencies; but execution after capture is another matter. These people were thieves by profession, and from their birth; and the whole country for forty years had been a scene of anarchy, confusion and deeds of violence: its inhabitants could not, therefore, be tried by our ordinary rules, or implicated in our estimates of criminality. Beyond doubt it was grievously inconvenient to be robbed of our camels; and, if hanging Beloochies could have prevented robberies, they were well hung: but, to effect security, it would have been so nearly necessary to have hung the whole population of the country, that the feasibility as well as humanity of the expedient becomes questionable.

The evening of the 3rd of April was one of the most disagreeable of the campaign; we had halted that day, and some camels had been stolen on that and the preceding days, notwithstanding the hanging. Major Cunningham,

always on the alert, had pursued one party of the thieves; and, killing several, had recovered the lost property, and brought in several prisoners. In this excitement a report was brought in that a strong body of the enemy were actually approaching to attack the camp; at the same time a sudden storm, following a close sultry day, came on with gusts of wind, enveloping us in a thick cloud of dust. In the midst of this confusion, an officer's servant heedlessly handling his master's loaded fowling-piece, it went off; and the charge, passing through the tent walls, lodged in the body of an unfortunate washerman of the hospital of her Majesty's 17th regiment, and killed the poor fellow on the spot.

No one at first knew whence the shot had come, the enemy were actually believed to be in the camp; and a troop of cavalry which had been turned out on the first alarm now came up, and were sent off at speed in pursuit of the supposed enemy in their supposed flight; every one seemed possessed with

the spirit of error, and appeared bent on blundering, as if deliberately adding to the confusion and turmoil: the wind in the meantime howling round our tents, and the dust obscuring the twilight of the closing evening.

We marched at midnight, and reached Nousherra at six o'clock, a distance of eighteen miles. We had scarcely breakfasted ere the alarm of thieves was given, and cavalry ordered out; but the enemy had been successful. Among other sufferers my excellent friend and coadjutor Field-surgeon Pinhey had no less than six of his camels stolen: a most serious loss, and by no means to be estimated at eighty rupees per camel, the average cost of the animal; for such a misfortune entails the additional grievance of the necessity of abandoning the baggage the poor beasts had carried. We soon acquired a very painful familiarity with this calamitous occurrence also.

It was a hot morning, and the thermometer was 104°; but clouds gathered at noon, and at three P.M. came on a gale of wind, fol-

lowed by rain: the thermometer fell with it to 86°. Poor Pinhey, who seemed the butt for the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" for that day, had his tent blown down by the squall; and Major Hagart, his chum, was bruised and wounded by the tent-pole falling. The "gentlemen of England who live at home at ease" have little idea of the misery of having camels stolen on a march in an enemy's country, or the discomfort and injury of a tent struck over one's head without warning by a squall.

The next morning (April 5th) brought us, after a short march, to Daudur. On the road we crossed the Bolan river, about nine miles below where it issues from the pass into the level plain: it was a broad stream, with a deep wide bed, indicating an immense flood of water during rain.

At Daudur we found a detachment of Bengal troops, under Major Griffith, with a depôt of their commissariat; they were the first we had met, and we could not but envy the superi-

ority of their field-equipage, and the skill of their tent-makers. The coast position of the Bombay Presidency occasions so much of the travelling from station to station to be made by sea, that the outlay in tents, which a Bengal officer considers his first care and indispensably necessary, is seldom incurred in Bombay. Our tents, as compared with those of the Bengal camp, were flimsy in texture and ill-shaped; possessing fortunately, however, the compensating advantage of lightness and portability, which, when once above the Bolan Pass, and in the milder climate of Kaubool, rendered them good enough for use and more easy to march with, though in every other respect as inferior as possible.

On the 7th a post arrived from the chief's camp, and gave us a delightful account of the climate of the upper region; a slight snow-storm had been experienced about the end of March, whilst we were suffering the extremes of heat. On the 8th the remains of our expected commissariat supplies arrived from Shi-

karpore; on the 9th our artillery division commenced its march through the Bolan Pass, and on the 12th the infantry and cavalry followed.

On the 10th we received a post from Bombay of March 8th, and from Kurachy of March 23rd. By the latter we learnt the sad occurrences of the death of Colonel Powell, of her Majesty's 40th regiment, of cholera, and the murder of Captain Hand, of the 2nd Bombay Grenadiers. Both were melancholy illustrations of the climate and the people we had to deal with.

Though the sparrow does not fall without its Maker's knowledge, the singular chances and changes of our mortal life have a fearful appearance of being but the sport of accident. Poor Hand had gone forth for a morning ride; and, straying idly about at no great distance from the camp, fell unarmed, and dreaming of no danger, into the hands of a body of thieves who were lurking about the camp in quest of plunder: he was cruelly murdered, and his horse carried off.

Lieutenant Clarke, of the same regiment, was out shooting, and saw enough to excite his suspicion that all was not right. He rode in the direction in which Captain Hand had gone, and came up with the robbers as they were escaping with the horse. They at once fired on, and wounded him. He turned his horse, and had barely strength to reach the camp, and give the alarm, ere he fainted from loss of blood.

Detachments were immediately sent out, and the body of the murdered officer was brought in. Some of the murderers were subsequently traced and captured, and one was executed.

## CHAPTER X.

Sickness in the camp.—Preparations for crossing the Bolan Pass.—Entrance of the pass.—Robbers' cave.—Unburied corpses left in the track of the Bengal division.—Scene of a sharp skirmish.—Halt at Khoondye.—Thieves.—Anticipations of a warm night.—Savage character of the scene.—Our camp at Beeby Nany.—Extensive burial-place.—Local tradition.—Grave of Lieut. Ramsay of the Bengal division.—Aub-i-gooud.—Improvement in the temperature.—Noisy gathering round the Bolan spring.—Our cavalry fired upon from the hills.—The insult avenged by our infantry.—Pleasant information.—Pitiable and unavailing execution.—Arrival at Quetta.

DURING our stay at Daudur, from April 5th to 12th, the heat had become extreme, and considerable sickness was felt. The natives of the country were unaccustomed to it, and attributed it to the pollution of the Bolan river, whence all their supply of water is derived, by the thousands of dead camels and other carcases left in the Bolan Pass by the advancing

Bengal column. We saw sufficient, a few days after, to justify such an opinion.

As the pass afforded no forage or supplies for seven marches, our preparations were made to carry with us as much grass as we could, and all the grain our cattle needed; even a large quantity of firewood was conveyed by the commissariat for the use of the hospital, &c.

On the 12th we marched from Daudur, and in two hours reached the entrance of the pass: a valley at its outlet not half a mile wide; the first hills receding in ranges north and south, not more than four hundred feet high; the Bolan river, with a broad shallow pebbly bed, winding across and across the valley. At the very entrance, and on the face of the first hill on the southern side, appeared signs of the sort of gentle swains that usually occupied the banks of the Bolan. Midway up the hill was seen an opening; and this, when examined, presented the beau idéal of the robbers' cave of Gil Blas, being the upper ventilator to an excavation entered by a tunnel below, through which only one horse could be carefully led at a

time, but within equal in area to accommodate a hundred men. The approach to the gateway of the tunnel was well concealed. The place spoke for itself; and a fitter habitation for men of blood, or a more appropriate locality for deeds of violence, can not be imagined.

After advancing three miles, the pass narrowed to about two hundred yards; and the windings of the river were so tortuous, that the column forded it seven times. We were afterwards painfully accustomed to the sad sight of the unburied dead, left rotting on the road. It was surely criminal against God, as well as man, to leave those poor relics of humanity thus unheeded and abandoned! Among them were two women: one had fallen, fearfully cut by the death-wound that had destroyed her. She lay, poor creature! on the edge of the water; and her long black hair was floating in the ripples of the clear stream, into which she was soon to be dissolved. Turning an abrupt corner where the bluff rock jutted boldly into the stream, and a broad marshy spot of tall flags and rushes extended about half a mile up

the pass, we came on the scene of a skirmish, where a party of Shah Soojah's people had been evidently very roughly handled by the mountain thieves: the dead lay in heaps. Some one, who had a stronger stomach or nose less acute than myself, said he counted thirty, and that there still might be seen many more among the rushes. Had my judgment and my opinion, thus unaided, been asked, I should have said I saw at least a hundred.

From hence the pass was not two hundred yards broad, and the mountains were probably a thousand feet high on either side. At eleven miles from Daudur we reached our first halting-place, Khoondye, named from the Beloochy word for the acacia-tree; there being two or three that may have been tolerably fine ones ere lopped and thinned by our advance. Happy were those who had provided iron tent-pegs: our tents we fastened as we best could, in the pebbly bed of the river, among the bolder stones and rocks smoothed and rounded by the winter torrents of the Bolan. The day was excessively hot,—thermometer at 110°; and the

mountain thieves peeping over the crests of the inaccessible heights gave us reason to suppose the possibility of the following night being hot too: but we slept in peace.

On the 13th we marched at five o'clock through a fearful defile. The hills, before we reached the last halting-ground, had been what is termed conglomerate,—masses of a thousand feet high, of pebbles such as are found at the bottoms of rivers, apparently rounded and polished by the action of water, and held together by a very coarse open limestone or sandstone: but the next gorge or chasm was through what I had been told to consider coral rock, of a gray-white colour, and a compact homogeneous substance, splintering with a smooth surface of fracture; precisely the stone used in lithography. The ravine through which the river broke was not fifty feet broad, the mountains rising perpendicularly on each hand to near a thousand feet; whilst everywhere in the face of the rocks were excavations, partly natural, partly artificial, that bore unquestionable signs of having been inhabited by ruffians more savage

than the scene. The heart ached to think of what men had been, and what men had suffered and angels wept over, in this horrible wilderness.

This march of ten miles forms the lower strength of the pass; the river, winding backwards and forwards across the ravine, requires to be forded seventeen times: at the end of it we reached a few miserable huts designated the village of Keerta.

The third march, of nine miles to Beeby Nany, was through a comparatively open country: there was one narrow pass betwixt two hills, but it might have been turned; the hills were isolated. All this stage was ascent, over loose pebbles like the bed of a river. From the entrance of the pass to Keerta, its distance, twenty-one miles, must be trebled by the tortuous course of the current of the river; yet the stream is everywhere a noisy rapid watercourse, indicating a very considerable fall to produce such a force of current. The past day had been very hot, and the putrid stench of the carcases of the dead camels left on the road by the Bengal column polluted the air, and was most distress-

ingly painful. We had not yet benefited in climate by ascent.

Our camp at Beeby Nany was the first open spot we had seen in the pass, on the bank of a beautiful stream, and where two valleys meet betwixt different ranges of mountains: one of them, extending westward, affords a difficult road direct to Moostong; the other is the usual route to Quetta.

An extensive burial-place showed a scene of carnage; and tradition recorded the treachery of the mountaineers, who had once seduced a caravan thus far ere they assailed them: they were said to have sold their lives dearly ere overpowered by numbers, and more of the robbers than their victims are buried there. A new grave, with some little appearance of a cairn over it, marked, as we afterwards learnt, the last resting-place of Lieutenant Ramsay of the Bengal column; his brother was in our camp, and, I believe, at the time unaware of the untimely end of the deceased.

Our fourth march of ten miles was to Aub-i-gooud, or "lost water;" being the place where

the Bolan is absorbed by the loose pebbly stratum it flows over, sinks into it, and, percolating through a lower level, re-appears many miles below. We were now aware of the fresher mountain air; the thermometer in our paltry small tents, for we could not pitch any but servants' tents and sleeping-tents, was already fallen to 94°. We had not ascended less than two thousand feet; but so gradual had it appeared, that it was scarcely perceptible.

The fifth march was to Sir-i-Bolan, or the fountain-head of the Bolan river. The camp was in what appeared the dry bed of a mountain torrent, which would present a cataract of two hundred yards broad, and many feet deep, if the marks on the banks could be relied on: the lofty hills on each hand were again of the conglomerate character; but when or how these could ever have been formed under water, surpasses my comprehension.

We arrived on this ground at ten in the morning of the 16th of April; and the next march was a stage of twenty-eight miles, there being no water betwixt Sir-i-Bolan in the Pass,

and Sir-i-Aub in Affghanistan. Preparations were made for the morrow, and at daylight a party moved in advance with all the commissariat stores and heavy baggage, carrying a small supply of water; the column moved at one o'clock P.M. of the 17th. We halted a few minutes to take our last draught of the Bolan spring,—a noble fountain certainly, and more perfectly realizing our idea of that miraculous stream which the rod of Moses called forth from the flinty rocks of the wilderness of Sinai when an emigrant nation drank at its well-head, than anything I have ever seen or heard of. They might have done the same at the Bolan: a fine river rolls out through a few small openings, forming, as its crystal flood gushes into air, a gladsome stream, as pure and cold as Nature can create it, and amply sufficient for the wants of an army.

Subsequent events often brought back to our recollection the cheerful noisy gathering round that spring.

The concluding ten miles of the pass are through a fearfully wild ravine, winding zigzag,

like the teeth of a saw, betwixt frightfully overhanging precipices of perpendicular rocks ascending to a thousand feet on either hand, and the clear blue sky above deepened in colour by the sombre shade in which we stood at the bottom of the gorge. We had marched about six miles, and it was about three o'clock, when the alarm was given in front that some stragglers of the enemy's plunderers were seen; and in turning round one of the rudest and strongest defiles of the pass into an opener space, where accessible hills on either hand receded in rounded bluff headlands, instead of perpendicular precipices, like the partial sides of an earthquake-severed chasm, we saw a party of probably a hundred armed men scrambling eagerly to get over the ridge of a hill and out of sight. They were out of musket-shot; but better preparation, and a horse-artillery gun with grape, would have taught them a lesson as to the peril of putting themselves so near us, and the folly they had committed in not attacking us sooner.

The hills on our left were still completely commanding us; several of the enemy were

seen ensconced in the cliffs, and our Deputy Judge-Advocate General took occasion to dismount, and fire a rifle at one of them. Speaking professionally of our fugleman, it was unluckily "sending up a charge against a man that he could not bring home:" but the fellow's fire in return was more efficient, and a horse was shot; immediately a desultory fire was opened on us by the rest of his company.

Our infantry were at least three miles in the rear, our artillery a stage a-head; we had only three hundred of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, and about the same strength of the 1st Bombay Cavalry. Six hundred horsemen, in a narrow defile completely commanded, had great reason to be thankful that the attack did not commence until just as we had emerged from it; and, most happily for us, our baggage was in front. The order was issued to push on, and in a few minutes we were clear of the danger.

One European and three natives only were wounded, six horses killed and a few slightly wounded; this was cheap indeed, compared with what might have been. The Beloochies,

emboldened by the non-resistance of the cavalry, awaited the arrival of the infantry, and were taught a lesson which the fast approach of night rendered less effectual than we had hoped it might have been: several, however, of the enemy fell, and not a man of our infantry was touched; the enemy being surprised by our flanking parties scaling the cliff, and turning their rear.

When the cavalry had reached an open glade of perhaps a quarter of a mile wide, with rounded hills on each side, a halt was called to ascertain the loss, and count casualties. Some followers arriving from the rear were loquacious and loud-tongued in the recital of their hair-breadth escapes, and their valorous performance in their own escape, and rescue of the baggage entrusted to their charge. A servant riding his master's spare horse coming up, and Brigadier Scott of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, who commanded the cavalry brigade of the Bombay column, and myself being together, we asked him if he knew whether any and what property had fallen into the hands of

the enemy. He replied that he thought all had escaped, except that two camels had been abandoned by the servants in charge of them, and had been carried off; and that these two belonged to Colonel E. Scott Sahib and General Doctor Kennedy Sahib. Pleasant information, and no mistake! I never in my life heard my own name so distinctly pronounced by a native.

Thus Colonel Scott and myself had the pleasure to know that our sleeping-tents, beds, bedding, part of our clothes, and very many trifling essentials, of little money value, but very necessary for comfort, and not to be replaced at any price where we then were, had been carried off; and we had to make the best we could of our bad bargain. The cowardice of our servants, who thought they were retarded by the camels, was the cause of our loss; for, having selected good camels, they had marched with the cavalry, and need not have lagged behind. I never asked my brutes a question; it was of no use. Colonel Scott, more inquisitive, or less philosophical, heard the fearful tale of his people's danger. The goat, they said, was

shot; and, when blood was shed, they considered it time to be stirring, and ran for their lives: and my people disclaimed the honour of having been first in the race.

Verily it was no jest; for had we been attacked in the middle instead of at the end of one of the strongest passes in the world, and had the number of men we saw around us—fully three hundred, and probably as many more not seen, but many were evidently there,—thrown up any breastwork to block the road, nowhere fifty yards across, and rolled stones down the hills to impede our advance or retreat, but few of our party could possibly have survived to tell the tale of the Bolan Pass.

A steep ascent, of probably five hundred feet in less than half a mile, took us over the crest of the last ridge, and the level plain of Affghanistan lay before us. The air at sunset was chilly cold; and we had the perfect knowledge of a new climate, as well as of a new country. A dreary march of nearly twenty miles brought us to the camp of our advanced party; and we halted for the night. The following morning,

a short march of eight miles brought us to Sir-i-Aub: there we halted during the 19th to recruit our cattle.

The ascent of six thousand feet from Daudur had brought us to a region where water boiled at a line below 200° of Fahrenheit: and the thermometer was at the minimum 50°, and maximum 88°; sinking rapidly after half-past one, the maximum hour in a tent, to 65°, the temperature at sunset. At Daudur, on the 11th, the minimum of the thermometer was 82°, and maximum 106°; and 98° at sunset. The pleasurable sensation of the European climate we were in is not to be described. We were never weary of admiring the spring-blossoms of iris and harebell with which the turf was enamelled. A somewhat coarsely scented variety of southern-wood shed its strong perfume wherever we trod, and covered the country like heather.

The cultivation round the village was equally new: finely irrigated fields of lucerne and clover; and the spring-wheat was pale-green, in the first blade, not a span high; whilst in the country below the pass the yellow harvest was

already ripe, and the reaping had commenced in the vicinity of Daudur.

Every day was now destined to have its catastrophe: ten Beloochies had been summarily executed on this ground by Colonel Sandwith of the 1st regiment of Native Cavalry, under written orders from Sir John Keane, as his Excellency passed with the Bengal column. The first order was a verbal one; but Colonel Sandwith, not liking it, required a written one, and received it on half a sheet of note-paper. He has had the wisdom to preserve it. The poor wretches had their elbows secured, and were made to sit on the ground; when each had a bullet sent through his brain from a carbine. Lieutenant Loch, the officer who superintended the execution, spoke very feelingly of what he had been no willing agent in. Some of them, he said, sat quietly down and submitted to their fate; some resisted, and, to keep them quiet, the execution-party fastened their heads together by their long luxuriant hair, which served to secure them for their destruction. Two young lads seemed horrified to bewilderment by

their fears, and implored for mercy, seizing the feet and knees of the superintending officer; but they were made to sit down. Ere the fatal volley exploded, they were endeavouring to embrace, leaning their heads against each other, weeping bitterly their last farewell.

This was sad work, and did no good: we were robbed, and our camels stolen at every stage. The next morning, the 20th, Captain Davidson, Commissary General, had one of his camels led off from the spot where his tent had stood: it had been struck, his baggage packed, and cattle loaded; and, whilst his servants waited for the advance of the column to take their place in the line, one of the camels was abstracted with as much apparent ease, and as perfect impunity, as if such a beast so loaded could have been put in the thief's pocket and carried off at speed. A hue and cry was made, — day was breaking, — but the camel was gone.

On the 20th of April, we marched to Quetta, the capital town of the province of Shaul; a small place of poor appearance, and its population

ground to the dust by the exactions of its government, and the free-trading character of its neighbours. Until our tents arrived and were pitching, we rested in a noble orchard. Fine standards of the size of forest-trees, apple, pear, peach, apricot, and plum, were surmounted and overhung with gigantic vines, which wreathing round the trunks, and extending to the remotest branches, festooned from tree to tree in a wild luxuriance of growth such as I had never dreamt of seeing in fruit-trees and the vine: it was the first month in spring, and they were covered with blossoms which perfumed the air, and presented a picture of horticultural beauty surpassing description.

To one who, like myself, had not seen European trees and fruits for nearly twenty-nine years, the sight was refreshing and exhilarating in the extreme; recalling the pleasant days and dreams of happy youth, and reviving those recollections which remain unforgotten to our graves, through all the chances and changes of mortal life, however varied. They came like dew upon the new-mown grass over the

cold and callous heart of age and experience, amid scenes and doings so wildly opposite, that fancy could imagine them to resemble that view of heaven which the parable permits the rich man out of the depths of hell.

## CHAPTER XI.

The sick left at Quetta.—Creditable marching of the Bombay column.—Great desertion of the camel-men.—Consequent deaths among the camels.—Kooslak.—Valley of Peisheen. — Subterraneous aqueducts. — Our destitute condition, from robberies on the march.—Amusement created by an application to us for a sideboard.—The Kojuk Pass.—The Toba mountains.—Difficulties of the pass.—The road impeded by carcases of animals left by the Bengal division.—Wild rhubarb.—Friendly reception at the advance camp.—Night-march to Killa Futtoola.—Distress from want of water.—Reception of supplies from the Bengal column.—Village of Da Haji.—Arrival at Kandahar.—Encampment.—Council of war and flight of the Chiefs.

We had a busy day at Quetta. A company of foot artillery was ordered to remain, to reinforce General Nott's brigade of the Bengal column; and all our sick, amounting to one hundred and thirty Europeans, unable to march, were to halt until able to rejoin head-quarters.

Nearly one hundred did rejoin at Kandahar, very early in June.

There can be no question but that, if mere economy had been the first question, that General Nott and the Bengal troops ought to have advanced, and the Bombay column should have halted at Quetta. I offer no further opinion, being uninformed of the real actuating motives which dictated the arrangements.

No halt was allowed: the Bengal column in advance might possibly be opposed at Kandahar, and all haste was to be made to overtake them; and in good sooth no time was lost. They marched from Daudur early in March, and we on April 12th: they reached Kandahar April 30th, and we May 4th. Making every deduction for their being the advance, and pioneering the way, and our having the advantage of the roads they made, still our rate of marching was a fair trial of strength and perseverance, and very creditable to the Bombay column.

My personal grievances must again be intruded on the reader: let me say, like Cicero, "Nec querulus essem quamvis." It is not to

indulge in a grumble, but to illustrate our history, that I am ever and anon anecdotic. Just as we had done dinner at Quetta at eight P. M. of the said April 20th, our digestion was interrupted by a report that a great desertion of camel-men had taken place. Among them were all my five, and my ten camels were left without a single keeper to tend or feed them. Others were equally unfortunate; some lost all, others half their establishment. Our people had had enough of it; and, more especially, the servants hired with the camels purchased in Sind showed an invincible dislike to advance further into the enemy's country.

I cannot say how we scrambled on, or how the poor camels were tended. I represented to my other servants that we had no help for it, and gave them the wages the five camel-men would have received if present; and the poor fellows set to work without a murmur, and marched my cattle on to Kandahar, I know not how. Many camels died, most probably from starvation and bad tending; but it was attributed to the pasture, and a beautiful blue

iris was said to be the camel's poison. I had no means of ascertaining, but strongly believe that with more grain and better grooming they might have swallowed iris or "eisel" with impunity.

On the 21st we marched thirteen miles, to Kooshlak. Leaving the valley of Shaul to enter the valley of Peisheen, we crossed a mountain ridge, of about eight hundred feet elevation, with an ascent of three miles, and a steep descent of somewhat less than half a mile.

The military arrangements to prevent surprise and loss in the mountain, made an interesting spectacle. Several carcases of the followers of the Bengal camp showed that their stragglers in the rear had been killed and stripped: great precaution was taken to preserve ours from a like fate. The view from the crest of the hill was very fine. Some parties of light infantry occupying every point that commanded the road, to cover our flanks, ere we entered the defile, showed how we ought to have protected ourselves in the Bolan Pass.

No enemy appeared, and the column reached Kooshlak without accident.

The four following stages were made through the celebrated valley of Peisheen. Misrule and anarchy had reduced this once fertile region to a desert. Very little cultivation was seen, except in the immediate vicinity of the villages; and these were few in number, wretchedly built, and very thinly inhabited. I have never travelled through a less interesting or more desolate region than the whole tract from Quetta to Kandahar.

The subterraneous drainages, or aqueducts, peculiar to Khorasana, were found at our first halting-place, and from thence to Kandahar, in the singular aqueducts named Kareiz. The current of water is conducted by a subterraneous channel, generally about eight or twelve feet below the surface, with shafts of about six feet diameter at every thirty or forty yards, for the purpose of ventilation, and convenience, probably, of original excavation and annual repair. Two objects are thus gained; since this species of aqueduct is more easily dug than a

trench would be, and, as the current goes so much underground, the evaporation during summer must be comparatively trifling. The mountain springs are thus carefully brought down into the valleys, and across the lower levels, to reservoirs, whence they are drawn for irrigation. The long line of mounds, indicating the apertures of the several shafts, formed a new feature in this dreary landscape.

In some districts no water existed save in these subterraneous aqueducts; so that an enemy with a few spades-full of earth might at any time cut off the supplies of an army, and defeat their arrangements. We suffered exceedingly from the interruption of one at Killa Futtoola on the 28th April.

On the 25th April we reached Killa Abdoola Khan, where we found a battalion of Shah Soojah's regulars in possession of the fort. Our march from Larkhanu had been so difficult, and the enemy had made so free with our cattle, that not one of us had more than the bare necessaries of life, and the smallest possible quantity of baggage of any kind: we were con-

sequently not a little amused to receive an application from the Bengal officer halted there, expressing a desire to purchase a sideboard and some other articles of furniture, which would have been as useful or desirable to men in our situation as a horse to a sailor on his quarter-deck. It was evident to us that our Bengal friends were faring far better than we were; and we looked to our overtaking them at Kandahar as a relief from a large share of our privations.

On the morning of the 26th we crossed the Kojuk Pass from Killa Abdoola Khan to Chummum, a march of great difficulty and danger, and forming a singular repetition of the evils of the Lukky Pass; it being apparently our fortune to have our minor difficulties grossly exaggerated, and the real impediments either unknown, or so misrepresented as to be out of the calculation.

On our advance, the artillery column had struggled through the pass with great difficulty, notwithstanding the facilities provided for them by the surveys and road over the mountain

which the Bengal pioneers had made for their division; and, although they left Daudur three days before us, we were expected to overtake them on the other side of the mountain.

The Toba mountains form an irregular series of ranges of rocky hills, ascending to an elevation exceeding nine thousand feet above the sea, and about three thousand above the average height of the country whence they rise: they extend from the northern side of the valley of Peisheen to within fifty miles of Ghizni, having a breadth of about a hundred miles. The last of those ranges, diminished to a breadth of about ten miles, seems to continue a southerly course, and separates the valley of Peisheen from the next valley, whose name I never heard, but which, having a dreary desolate breadth of about twenty-four miles, is separated by a similar but less lofty range, of about fifteen miles in width, from the valley of the Turnuck and Urgendaub, the river of Kandahar.

At daybreak of the 26th of April we commenced the ascent of the Kojuk Pass. The approach and the first five miles had much

beauty; fine, green, grassy hills,—a new feature in the landscape,—with trees and bushes, formed a contrast to the naked rocks and arid surface of the country from Daudur hither; but dead horses and camels, polluting the air with the most noisome and pestilential stench of putrefaction in every variety of stage of animal decomposition, denied the enjoyment of any beauties of nature.

At the eighth mile of the road, the pass began to be precipitous: several human carcases, some bearing marks of violence, were here stretched naked and putrid by the road side, polluting the scanty stream of a rivulet, which, bubbling among the clefts of a splintery shale rock, would have been a relief to the traveller but for the fearful defilements with which it had been poisoned. The crest of the mountain appeared to consist of two ridges: one was ascended by a steep road for about two hundred yards, almost equally abrupt to descend on the opposite side; the other could be climbed by a less difficult approach along its side for about a quarter of a mile. These

were far from pleasant spots to pass, even for cavalry and infantry, without the shadow of opposition from an enemy. Our artillery had been dragged through after two days' hard labour of the artillery-men and her Majesty's 17th regiment: the dead camels lay in heaps, and in one place their putrid carcases actually impeded the way of the baggage-train. A more sickening sight, or more offensive stench, cannot be imagined.

The total ascent to the last crest, looking down into the next valley, and whence the advance camp of artillery could be seen, was about ten miles; thence the descent, at first abrupt but subsequently easy, and the road exceedingly good, was about four miles.

We were most fortunate that no accident of any moment occurred; and all our baggage arrived at a good hour before sunset; a great part being up before three o'clock. A few straggling parties of thieves showed themselves, and a little desultory firing of the rear-guards was necessary from time to time to keep them at a respectable distance, and prevent the mis-

chief their alarming the baggage-train might have occasioned in the crowded ravines and defiles of the pass; but all was happily surmounted. Within two miles of the artillery camp we passed their rear-guard, and saw some of their baggage on the road.

The absolute height of the ridge crossed could not be less than two thousand feet. Several plants, quite new to me, were in full blossom, wasting sweetness and beauty on the desert air or the robber's haunts, and blooming now amid the most noisome and noxious putrefaction that was ever left in the rear of an advancing column.

Among other wild productions of the hill, there was a vast abundance of rhubarb, growing in the very midst of tolerably compact slaty rock, and shooting its roots through the narrow clefts and fissures where the pickaxe and crowbar were necessary to obtain it. We had heard of it as a production of Kaubool, and the fertile valleys of the Hindoo Koosh; but I did not expect to find it so far south, or in such prodigal profusion.

My personal adventures on the Kojuk Pass were easy. I alighted from my horse, and walked through all the precipitous and dangerous parts of the road; preferring, as I have always done through life, incurring a little fatigue of limb to risking the chance of breaking one. On arrival at the advance camp, when not a hope of our own mess-breakfast had occurred to us, we were all hospitably and kindly received and provided for by our friends, who had passed before us, and had not enjoyed on their arrival the luxury they were able to bestow on us. I had to thank Major Hancock of the 19th regiment for the shelter of his tent and the warmest welcome.

So far well for what was past, the future was less comfortable to contemplate: no forage of any kind was procurable for our cattle, and no grain to be purchased; the artillery and the cavalry horses were starving, and our jaded camels ill able to work: yet there was no despondency nor even anxiety shown. Through my career in India I have never seen the shadow of a reverse, so that I cannot judge

of what would be the result of such a novel position to an Indian army; but on the Kandahar side of the Kojuk Pass there was abundant occasion to try the temper and elasticity of the most vivacious spirits, and the result was beyond measure satisfactory.

My subject is drawing me upon delicate ground, and I will forbear: but I will speak as one who has not slept during the last twenty-nine years; that if what is reported be true, viz. that the Home Governments, both of Downing-street and Leadenhall, have united to resolve that strangers to India are not in future to be sent to India, either for government or command, they have come to the wisest resolution that could have occurred to them; and, had they agreed upon it sooner, their treasury might have been in better condition, and their Indian army happier.

We had another desert march before us of nearly twenty-five miles, to be done without a halt; and we rested the night of the 26th. On the 27th we dined at three o'clock, and struck our tents to prepare for our journey,

which we commenced at sunset. A bright moonlight made the night-march less irksome; but the report of pistols, which proved to arise from the merciful destruction of some poor artillery horses that had broken down under starvation and overwork, caused some anxiety. At half-past nine o'clock we reached Doondy Goolye, a pool of putrid water, poisoned by dead camels, which was too offensive even for the jaded cattle: we halted till midnight to allow the baggage to pass on, and then resumed our journey, and reached Killa Futtoola before sunrise; the whole distance being a perfectly level plain, without the appearance of habitation or of inhabitant having ever been there. All the baggage came up with the column, and no accident of any kind had occurred during the night journey of twenty-five miles.

But the Kojuk Pass and the desert march had overworked the cattle, and further advance without rest was impossible; yet no sufficient supply of water could be found. Watercourses, indicating irrigation, were discernible in the fields, and parties were sent in

quest of the fountain-head whence they had flowed; but they were not discovered: yet though only one small well existed here, and some others at six miles' distance, very inadequate to our wants, we were compelled to halt till the 29th, notwithstanding all the excessive difficulties of watering the cattle.

On the 30th we advanced over a rocky mountain ridge, chiefly descent for about eleven miles to Mel, which brought us into the lower valley of Kandahar, estimated at three thousand five hundred feet above the sea. We passed many mangled relics of humanity on the road, and the heart ached over what they had suffered, and what our own people were going through. The natives of the country who followed us must, I fear, have formed but a low estimate of our consideration for our native dependents; it would have cost little trouble, and occasioned little delay, to have given these sad relics the charities of burial.

On the 1st May a midnight march brought us to Tuktapole, passing the celebrated well described by Conolly. It would be a very or-

ordinary bounty in Guzerat. We stopped to examine it by moonlight, and to regret the state of the country where such works are so rare as to be objects of wild legend and extravagant admiration. Some plunderers, who were endeavouring to make free with our baggage, and had evinced more courage than usual, were overtaken by the cavalry on the rear-guard, and very quickly disposed of: they were armed men, and it was fair fighting. At Tuktapole we had the unspeakable gratification to meet a small party of the irregular horse of the Bengal column, sent out to us from Kandahar with supplies. The news they gave us that the chiefs of Kandahar had fled, and the city yielded without the semblance of resistance, was satisfactory as respected the results of the campaign. The supplies they brought were a day's provision for the cavalry, and a great relief; and their account of Kandahar delighted us. Past fatigues and anxieties were forgotten.

On the 2nd we reached Da Haji, the first village since we left the valley of Peisheen. The lack of timber occasions the village cot-

tages in this country to be built entirely of mud, and covered with little cupola roofs of the same. Da Haji, when first seen, appeared like a mass of large-sized bee-hives. Fine corn and clover-fields round the village enabled us to purchase abundant forage for our cattle; but the flinty-hearted monsters took the fullest advantage of our wants and our position, and the safe protection they enjoyed from British discipline. The imposition practised on us must have fallen ruinously on the poorer classes of the camp.

On this morning's march we passed the two mounds, or cairns of loose stones, that bear the celebrated names in Persian romance of Leila and Mujnoon; how, where, or why bestowed I did not learn. They had nothing remarkable in appearance, and probably showed the spot where some deed of blood had been perpetrated.

The 3rd of May, at Moola Keejry Ki Kareez, was a pleasant day to all. Plums and vegetables from Kandahar, the first fruits of the country, appeared in our bazaar. The worthy

dinary boury in Guze his name to the aque-
amine it by moonli e supplied, had our bless-
of the country w The near prospect of re-
to be objects rest was invigorating to all, from
admiration. o the lowest.
vouring tc urday, the 4th of May 1839, the Bom-
evinced umn reached Kandahar, closing an im-
taken ant stage of its toil and privations, and
ver ding results as yet beyond all hope. The
u contemptible lofty walls, with occasional crum-
bling towers of the same, without even the pre-
tension of glacis or outwork, showed sufficient cause why the chiefs of Kandahar had declined any contest for their ancient capital, whose past glories and renown in Oriental history would have proved a sorry defence against one of the strongest and best-appointed artillery corps that ever took the field in an Asiatic campaign.

The Bengal column was encamped opposite the south-east angle of the city, at about three miles' distance; Shah Soojah's troops were on the west face; the Bombay column covered the

city, and part were
city-wall. Our ground
a tract of field whence a
been cut, and the herbage
the roots was a verdant carpet
All was peace, and, for the present
repose; and, whatever the distant mor-
was to bring forth from Kaubool, the pre-
sent day at Kandahar was one of rest and re-
freshment.

We were told that the chiefs of Kandahar did not abandon their country and homes without having meditated resistance; that they had advanced with a body of cavalry to the foot of the Kojuk Pass. Their council of war was said to have wavered on the fittest mode of obstructing our advance. A night attack was overruled, it being admitted that our watchful vigilance was more alert by night even than by day. Desultory assaults upon our baggage-train on the march, or a sudden inroad upon our camp at such a period after the arrival of the troops at the new ground as should have given them

leisure to pile arms, undress, and commence cooking, were advised; but the defection of one of the principal chiefs, Haji Khan Kaukur, dissolved the array of the Affghan army, and the chiefs at once decided on flight and exile.

## CHAPTER XII.

Kandahar. — Invitation to the house of Sir A. Burnes. — Gateway of the city. — Crowded state of the streets. — Tomb of Ahmed Shah.—The Citadel. — Novel mode of decorating the walls of rooms. — Great men of India: Mountstuart Elphinstone, Bishop Heber, Sir John Malcolm, and Sir James Macintosh. — High character of Sir A. Burnes.—Contagion of the fashion of wearing beards. — Purchases of provisions for the army.—Original draft of the campaign.—Remarks.—Full-dress parade of the grand army. — Speech of Shah Soojah. — Curious intercepted letter of an adherent of Dost Mahomed. — Ceremonial observed at the King's ascension of his throne.

On approaching Kandahar, I was met by a horseman, a servant of Sir Alexander Burnes, bringing me a packet of newspapers, and a friendly request to proceed at once to his house, and there to wait the arrival of my servants. So agreeable an invitation was not likely to be un-

dervalued. I first ascertained where the camp was to be, and where the site of my own tent; and then followed my guide to the citadel of Kandahar.

The gateway of the city was as wretched a defence as the unprotected wall; the city, when entered, a mere collection of mud-hovels, very generally, nay almost entirely, only one story high. The neighbourhood of such an army filled the streets with idlers and frequenters of the bazaar, and gave the busy hum of men and an air of life and bustle to the place; but I have never seen a poorer place in India ranking higher than the head-township of a purgamah. Such places as Dholka, Neriad Occliseer, Jumboseen, and a score others I could name, have substantial lines of houses, indicating wealth and comfort; but in Kandahar there was nothing but dirt and wretchedness. The population was estimated at thirty thousand; and, as we were told that a large portion of what might be designated the upper classes had fled the city on the approach of the British army, we should not be justified in

denying it. Suffice it to say, that the halo of an ancient name never shed a higher *ignis fatuus* lustre round poverty and impotence than the hyperbolic reputation of Kandahar.

A low cupola of about fifty feet diameter, springing from a wall not twenty feet high, covered the intersecting point where the two main streets crossed at right angles; and this, with the modern tomb of Ahmed Shah, grandfather of Shah Soojah, formed the only objects in the city worth stopping to look at. The tomb is an imposing object here: and though to those who have seen the relics of past ages in India it would not be considered deserving of description, yet, when recording a visit to Kandahar, I must say of it that it is a cupola of about thirty feet diameter, and probably sixty feet high, with a gallery round it, and minarets at the angles; the masonry of brick and chunam, ornamented with the glazed pottery tiles we had seen in such superior beauty at Tatta; the lining of the roof a gaudy gilding, and Arabic inscriptions on the cornice, either cut in

slabs of marble, or enamelled on the pottery, with simple marble monuments under the cupola, scarcely higher or larger than the "heavings of the turf" in a village churchyard. And such is the tomb of Ahmed Shah, whose bones would have shuddered in their grave when the metal heel of a British boot rang sharply on the pavement and re-echoed under the "hollow mass" of the cupola, could anything but the last trumpet awake them, and restore the ear to hear, or the eye to see, so strange an anomaly as the Frank in power at Kandahar!

The citadel may be described as a mass of ruin, and incapable of defence in its best day. The interior consisted only of the relics of houses of forgotten princes. Shah Soojah had sheltered himself in one, Mr. M'Naughten in another, and Sir Alexander Burnes in a third. The latter had been rebuilt by one of the chiefs of Kandahar for his favourite wife. It had an air of magnificence and grandeur where it stood; but in the Mogul Serai of Surat, or in Ahmedabad, it would be passed unobserved. The walls

had a novelty of decoration not peculiar to Affghanistan, as I have seen it in India, though never so well done as in the rooms I speak of; — the chunam or plaster being stamped when moist and plastic, and worked into a pattern, over which a varnish of powdered talc is spread, which more nearly resembles the richness and hue of new and unused frosted silver-plate than anything I have seen elsewhere. This might be introduced in London — a very cheap and elegant drawing-room decoration.

My excellent friend Sir Alexander Burnes received me with the kindest welcome, and with all that unaffected goodness, simplicity of manner, and warmth of heart which mark his character.

My residence in India has denied me personal knowledge of the great ones of the earth. They have not been the worse for it; nor, thank Heaven! have I. But I have seen and conversed with Mountstuart Elphinstone, and with Reginald Heber, two sublime, and, as far as the world can read them, faultless characters,

most singularly resembling each other, and apparently made different only by circumstances of early position and initiative steps in life. I have seen and conversed with Sir John Malcolm and Sir James Macintosh. The most *outré* egotism in the former, and a more refined but scarcely less concealed self-estimate in the latter, could not reduce them to the level of common men. I have seen in my time a stupendous amount of India big-wiggery, in all shapes and in every possible variety; and the less we say of it the better.

But of the great minds which I have been allowed to study, and which I can be allowed to name, one distinguishing characteristic was their simplicity and naked truth; and in this essentiality of greatness Sir Alexander is most especially modelled after them. At his early age he has done more, and been more under the world's eye,—and borne the inspection well too,—than either Elphinstone or Malcolm had done at his time of life; and, in the absence of all that is artificial, that indicates self-seeking or self-love,

he surpasses the latter, and equals the former; and, should his life be spared, the highest pinnacles of Indian greatness await him, as they fell to the lot of those to whom I liken him.

These observations are not the overflowing of attached friendship; they would have been suppressed, and my friend's great services left to speak for themselves, had justice been done him in the past year: but that justice remains yet to be done; and until it is so, whilst the palm of merit is awarded to others as inferior to him as pigmies to giants, it is the historian's duty to tear pretension to tatters.

But this is enough. Major Leech joined us at breakfast; rejoicing, like Burnes, in a bushy beard, but far surpassing him in the coal-black hue and abundance of the article. We had seen some bearded politicals in Sind; all were Esaus, not one smooth man in the country. Eccentricity is contagious! and very innocent, well-meaning men became infected they knew not how. To the best of my recollection, our chaplain, Sir John Keane, and myself, were the

only three in the army who did not abhor the razor.

Major Leech, an engineer officer by education, has since been in no little trouble for the account he gave of Ghizni as he saw it. How could he have foreseen that we should halt two months within two hundred and twenty miles of the place, and give the enemy such abundant warning, and leisure to repair the ruined works, and erect the appearances of strength?

Major Todd, of the Bengal Artillery, had seen Ghizni as well as Major Leech, and they had concurred in one opinion. It was very fortunate for the latter that it was so.

We were at once apprised that our halt at Kandahar depended on the harvest, and would exceed a month, to enable the standing crops to be reaped, in order to provide our commissariat with the means of advance. In the mean while flour was purchased by Government at the rate of two and a half, or even one and a half seer or three pounds, per rupee, and issued to the troops and followers, to the amount of half-ra-

tions of a pound to fighting-men, and half a pound to followers, at the rate of fifteen seers or thirty pounds per rupee. The number thus fed at such a price was roughly estimated at eighty thousand. The baggage-train of even the Bombay column was oppressively burthensome; the Bengal followers were quadruple. As a specimen, poor Brigadier Arnold was said to have had upwards of sixty servants. My tail of sixteen, including four camel-men, was considered equal to my rank, and a liberal allowance in the Bombay column. In the Bengal lines I should have been held to be very economical, and very ill provided for: but the wages of my sixteen would exceed the amount paid in the Bengal camp to double that number; and I was certainly a gainer to have fewer to feed, as I had hands enough for all I had for them to do.

The original draft of the campaign is said to have been that Shah Soojah was to be acknowledged the sovereign of Kaubool, and that the arrears of tribute due from Sind should form the golden sword that should win him his king-

dom; whilst the British name was to be his shield and tower of strength, to enable him to wrest those arrears from Sind, and take the first tottering steps he required to make in the uncertainty and fears of the infant feebleness of his pretension.

The Sind tribute, which would have been required to be paid had Kaubool been competent to enforce it, would have been nine lahks of rupees per annum since 1805, that is to say, two hundred and ninety-six lahks, without interest, or nearly three millions sterling. One-sixth of this, or even one-third, could not be considered an unrighteous demand, provided we can dismiss the minor question of previous acquisition of right, how justified? and present ground of demand, how asserted? Pass that, and the rest presents no difficulty.

The Bombay column could have settled Sind unopposed; and in the days of Governor Duncan a single brigade would have taken Hyderabad as easily as Sir Frederick Maitland and Brigadier Valiant took Kurachy; Sind and the

Indus would have been British; and Shah Soojah would have been restored, without a single demand on the British treasury, in less time than it cost us to land in the Hujamry and advance unresisted to Kandahar.

The assistance of British officers and the British arsenals, to equip and discipline Shah Soojah's levies, would have given him an army of his own in six months superior to anything that Dost Mahomed could possibly have opposed to him: and England needed not to have spent the three millions, which would have been better bestowed elsewhere; nor yet to have appeared in the front rank, risking that fearful collision with Russia, which might have set Europe in the blaze of a general war, had the energy of Lord Auckland's secretariat been met by a similar energy in the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Autocracy has its advantages as well as its evils, or it could not last. An autocrat, if insane, is strangled; and, if not, he will not commence a war without first providing the means to pay for it. Russia had not the means

for war, and therefore there was no war; and the eye of Russia has been hitherto on Constantinople: but Austria, France, and Russia hedge the way to the Hellespont; and we are liberally providing the means for an advance eastward.

Our expenditure in Kandahar and Kaubool surpasses all that those districts have seen or dreamt of in the past century, and has filled the country with money. The enriching, the fertilizing process of the next ten years, which must result from wealth and peace, will convert the bare valleys of Affghanistan into a garden; the districts we found deserts will become populous clusters of villages, and we are not to compare the future with the past. We are smoothening the way, and providing the resources, for the advance of an enemy from the West. For thirty years we have shuddered and trembled at this bugbear; and every step we have taken, in Persia first, and last and most fatally in Affghanistan, has been to facilitate the very result we opposed: we appear, like

a moth, to have flown round and round the flame, and at last to have run headlong into it.

Until our arrival at Kandahar we had seen no enemy, but the most cowardly highway robbers and cattle-stealers that ever ventured to try their hands at "lifting." The wretched rabble might have done us an incalculable mischief had they dared to attempt it: we were an unwieldly mass that was fed and moved with the greatest difficulty, simply from its unwieldiness; and the merest shadow of judicious or courageous opposition, increasing that difficulty, must have arrested the career of success.

Machiavel would not have admitted as a tutor to his Prince any political castle-builder who would venture to play from first to last on the long hazard, and stand the hazard of the die upon improbabilities of cast; and for what?—to achieve a self-endamagement! Had Miraub Khan of Khelaut defended the Bolan Pass; had Haji Khan Kaukur not deserted in the Kojuk; had Kandahar resisted for a week, or Ghizni been properly defended; had the twenty-

eight guns we found abandoned at Argunda been bestowed for the defences of Kandahar and Ghizni; and had the twelve hundred cavalry shut up in the latter fort been occupied in merely riding round us, or two marches in front, wasting all forage, and watching all foraging parties from the Bolan Pass to Kaubool; finally, had Russian agency been so far developed and established, as it was supposed, and ought to have been, to have justified such a campaign; had any one of those contingencies occurred,—and not only one, but all were to be looked for,—the army could not have advanced, not because we should not have been able to defeat the enemy if he would have given us the opportunity, but because it was his wisdom to avoid a contest; and the distance to be travelled exceeded the means of any commissariat to convey supplies in the face of hostile opposition. The nakedness of the country denied pasture for our cattle; and they must all have perished on the road, had the necessary delay occurred which must have resulted from a cool calculating enemy, however feeble,

availing himself of the natural advantages his position gave him, and the length of the way we had to travel.

I am forestalling the subject, and have trespassed upon the advance; so will return to Kandahar. A general order was issued on the 4th of May, announcing to all Asia, and to all Europe, that we were so far so well; and it was ordered that a full-dress parade of the army should take place on the 8th, to show to the citizens of Kandahar, and such of the dependents or well-wishers of Dost Mahomed as might be there, the extent and nature of our force.

General Willshire commanded the parade, which was merely a passing in order of review, before a sort of platform, on which under a canopy sat Shah Soojah; the chief and general staff of the British army on his left, and some half-a-dozen shabby-looking, dirty, ill-dressed Affghan followers on his right.

On his taking his seat, the king addressed himself to the envoy, and, as far as I could understand him, said that he "wished his grateful thanks to be conveyed to Lord Auckland;" add-

ing, that "he felt that the greatest kindness of the most indulgent parent towards the most favoured child could not have exceeded the disinterested benevolence of the British government towards him; and that the only feeling of his heart was gratitude, and the only object of his life would be to show it," &c. I am not an adept at the Persian language, it being so very seldom used in India: but I was close to the king, and heard every syllable; and, as far as I could understand him, the above is a fair paraphrase of what I think he meant to say.

The whole scene was very imposing, and the appearance of the troops surpassed all expectation. When the parade concluded, the king said that it was an exhibition of strength that would operate and be felt from Choen to Room, that is, from Pekin to Constantinople. So far as Asiatics were concerned, he was right, there being nothing betwixt the Black and the Yellow Seas that could have met the army before him, if the lamp of Aladdin and its genii had been our commissariat, to forage our cattle, and feed our people, and re-supply the treasury of Calcutta.

A letter, addressed to Dost Mahomed by an adherent on the spot, was intercepted a few days afterwards, and was a nine days' wonder much mystified; it gave a very singular account, for an Asiatic, of the throne parade. The strength of the force was stated with very tolerable accuracy; save that the forty pieces of field-ordnance, the horse, camel, and foot artillery, were totally omitted, as if they had not existed. Our vast wealth was dwelt upon to lure the enemy to attack us for the sake of plunder alone! Our gorgeous apparel and equipments were held forth in the light of the ermine's fur or the bear's skin,—the animal to be hunted down incontinently for the hide! This letter, being considered something very secret, became, as such things always do, very public, and was entered into every journal of every journal-writer in the army: all our Henrys writing for their mothers, and all our Edwards writing for their wives, all our authors preparing for the public, —all copied it! and, as all the latter will no doubt publish it, I need not.

One only observation is called for: the reader's

attention is requested to the British chief's general order of May 5th, commencing, "On the occasion of his majesty Shah Soojah ool Moolk taking possession of his throne, and receiving the homage of his people of Kandahar, the following ceremonial will be observed," &c.

The British authorities are there promised to be on the right, and the Affghans on the left; it was reversed. We were more than two score, and they some ragged half-a-dozen! but pass that. The order proceeds:

"The Envoy and Commander-in-chief will present Nuzzurs (homage-money) as representatives of Government.

"The officers of the Shah's force will also present Nuzzurs, &c. leaving their troops for that purpose, after the Shah has passed, and returning to receive his majesty.

"The Shah's subjects will then present Nuzzurs," &c.

The order of May 8th is equally explicit in showing the British authorities the lieges of Shah Soojah.

"Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane has re-

ceived the gracious commands of his majesty Shah Soojah," &c. What would Queen Elizabeth have said to this? She, who would not allow Sir Philip Sydney to receive a foreign order of knighthood! she, who would not allow "her sheep to bear another's mark!" to hear them bleating about, paying homage and receiving gracious commands, and instituting and wearing the order of the Douranee empire!

## CHAPTER XIII.

Protracted halt at Kandahar.— Campaign of 1780. — Evils of the halt. — Danger of seeking recreation. — Murder of Cornet Inverarity. — Reflections on his death. — Immortality of the soul. — Beautiful allegory of Psyche. — Ceremony of presenting Nuzzurana. — Increased heat of the weather. — Ruins of ancient Kandahar. — Curious vase of ancient sculpture. — Empty condition of the corn bazaar. — Unsuccessful attempt to raise a loan. — Detention of the army to await the arrival of the Lohany Chief. — His character. — Parties sent out to meet him. Friendly mission to Heraut.

THE halt at Kandahar was protracted two months, through causes that will, no doubt, be fully explained by the military historians. The order for the march in advance was expected by the end of May, and issued June 10th; countermanded the 13th, and finally re-issued on

the 25th: the rear column marched on the 30th.

The object to be gained by this halt, or the necessity that enforced it, should be most minutely entered into; for it was the delay at Kandahar that nullified the advantages gained by the unexpected success of the advance so far: the inexplicable folly of Miraub Khan of Khelaut, who could compromise himself beyond any possibility of retreat, and yet dared not proceed to active measures; the defection of Haji Khan Kaukur, and the flight of the Sirdars of Kandahar; and though last, not least, the non-appearance of Russia and Persia on the stage. This must unquestionably be considered the chief marvel; a very few thousands of Russian money, judiciously advanced, would have held together enough of Dost Mahomed's army to have employed us at least another campaign: and this forbearance either proves that the declarations of the Russian government are to the letter honest, and that the

movement of their agent on Kaubool was unauthorized; or, as is most probably the case, that the real aim of Russia is on Constantinople, and the feint on Kaubool was either to distract our attention, or to prepare an equivalent to be conceded to us by a far-sighted diplomacy whenever our interference in the Bosphorus required to be averted.

The natives with whom I conversed had but one opinion; and their surprise knew no bound that Brigadier Sale's party did not advance on Kelaut-i-Ghiljy and Ghizni, instead of Ghirisk. There was no force in the country which could have attacked or put a weak brigade in jeopardy; and we found more provisions on that route than anywhere else in the country. Had the worst occurred that could possibly befall, Brigadier Sale could have defended himself until reinforced from the rear. Our subsequent advance seems to prove that these opinions were correct: that a small force advancing could have obtained supplies; and that all

the contingency and hazards of Ghizni might, as far as we have the means of judging, have been averted by less dilatory measures.

To compare our proceedings with the energy that won India, would be paying a poor compliment to the master-spirits of the past generation: but it is worth a paragraph. Hyder Ali of Seringapatam—a very different personage from Hyder Khan of Ghizni—attacked the Carnatic in 1780 with twenty-eight thousand cavalry, fifteen thousand regular infantry, forty thousand irregulars, two thousand rocket-men, five thousand pioneers, and four hundred Europeans, French, &c. A total of ninety thousand fighting-men. The defeat of General Baillie has always been attributed to incompetent generalship; and yet his army was only three thousand seven hundred men. I am old enough to have known intimately the coevals of that generation, and never heard any other opinion but that mismanagement occasioned the disaster.

When Hyder had taken Arcot in November,

Sir Eyre Coote was sent from Bengal to take the command at Madras, with a reinforcement of five hundred Europeans. He found the army he had to command consisted of one thousand seven hundred Europeans, and five thousand three hundred natives; total seven thousand: yet, with this handful of disciplined men, so far from fearing the multitude of the half-disciplined and undisciplined, he anxiously desired to encounter in open field the boldest and most powerful enemy that English supremacy has had to rise over. He did seek him, and fairly drove him out of the Carnatic, defeating him in a pitched battle at Cuddalore; and, pursuing him into his own country, totally defeated him again in September at Vellore. Whilst we at Kandahar, with probably tenfold the artillery, and a greater force by far than Sir Eyre Coote's,—though Dost Mahomed at Kaubool had scarcely a man on whom he could rely, and his great fear was that he might be seized and sold by his own people,—remained

halted two months, and could not detach a brigade of two thousand men and a troop of horse-artillery towards Kaubool to give heart to Shah Soojah's adherents, and to form a nucleus for them and the personal enemies of Dost Mahomed to rally round.

Never was the halt of an Indian army so little relieved by any of the usual pastime occupations of a camp. The cowardly murderers by whom we were watched, and apparently surrounded, rendered it quite unsafe to venture out of sight of the camp, unless in armed parties prepared for action. Thus sight-seeing and pic-nics were at discount, and in fact scarcely dreamt of. One melancholy occurrence on the 28th of May read a sad lesson of the danger of such amusements, and they were seldom attempted afterwards.

Two officers of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, Lieutenant Wilmer and Cornet Inverarity, had spent the day fishing in the Urgendaub river, and were returning in the evening to

camp. Their servants, at no great distance behind, followed with the small quantity of baggage they had required. Through some accident, Mr. Wilmer was detained in the rear at a spot where the road was a rocky pass; and Mr. Inverarity, when riding alone in front, was attacked by a party of ruffians and cruelly murdered.

Mr. Wilmer, totally ignorant of what had befallen his companion, arrived immediately on the spot, and was assailed also. Having a stout stick in his hand, he parried the first blow, and struck the ruffian to the ground. A momentary check was thus given to the assault, — the servants at the instant coming up, attracted attention; and eventually Mr. Wilmer, severely wounded, was able to escape and find refuge at one of our camp picquets. Horsemen were sent out, and poor Mr. Inverarity was brought in still alive, though fearfully mangled: he did not survive an hour. His sad fate was deeply deplored by all. He was a very fine young man, and much

liked in his regiment: he had only recently joined it, but this campaign had veteranized all our boys into men; and those who had characters to show were not long in developing them. I knew his parents in my early life; and, as I heard the melancholy wail of the funeral music whilst they bore the poor boy to his untimely grave, many painful thoughts travelled through the far past, and on the grim catastrophes the future, the mercifully veiled future, is pregnant with, and prepares for the coming years.

What is written is written; and the best argument which mere philosophy can afford for a future state, must be founded on the wretched inequality decreed for men's destinies in this. The Almighty Being who created such a world as ours, a mere spot in this boundless universe, could never have placed reasoning, feeling creatures in a position where so vast a proportion of them would have no compensating joy to alleviate the miseries of existence, unless another and a better world

awaited them. The Eleusinian mystery, which appears to have veiled, in the legend of Psyche as delivered by Apuleius, the doctrine of the soul's immortality, avails itself of a sweetly beautiful and apposite allegory in the butterfly's escape, as a child of the air, from its chrysalis tomb and its caterpillar existence, during which it was a creeping thing on earth! Mere man never invented that legend and its exposition; it dates, no doubt, from that period to which Bailly unwittingly alludes, when he says that the ancient knowledge of astronomy, in the midst of its many errors, has dismemberments of an anterior civilization, and relics of a system of scientific knowledge based in truth, and not far surpassed by modern discoveries.

On the 27th of May was performed the very singular ceremony of as many officers of the army as chose being introduced at court to present Nuzzurana; that is, to pay feudal homage. The Mayor of Garrat, and the Kings of

the Antipodes and of the Cannibal Islands, have redeeming wit, though coarse, to palliate the folly; but here the whole affair was done in sober sadness, and intended for the sublime, though it went the step beyond, and trenched on the ridiculous! Let it be remembered that Shah Soojah and his family for twenty years past have lived dependents on Britain at Loodiana, and that he is restored only by the British treasury and the British bayonet; that, when restored to all that it is intended to give him, his royal revenue as the king of Affghanistan, at the most favourable estimate, will be short of 300,000*l.* sterling for the whole royal financial resources of the Douranee empire. Knowledge may be power, but revenue is power too! and whatever Shah Soojah may be whilst befriended by his indulgent ally the British Government, the most extravagant fancy could not by any stretch of imagination magnify so insignificant a potentate into a pageant for admiration.

The ceremonial was simple enough. Officers wishing to go were supplied with gold mohurs —a coin value 1*l.* 10*s.*—at the rate of twenty each for general officers and brigadiers, five each for field-officers, and two for captains and subalterns. The majority attended partly through curiosity, and partly through a sense of duty, as their presence seemed to be wished. The Shah was seated in a neglected court-yard, "where once the garden smiled," surrounded by ruinous buildings; but very few of his Affghans were present, and those chiefly his domestic servants. The officers passed in array before him, dropping their Nuzzuranas of sixty shillings each for captains and subalterns, and 7*l.* 10*s.* for field-officers, in slow succession; the old king, with a very demure look and a most marvellously well-dyed black beard, looking on with an abundance of satisfaction, and remarking, when the ceremony had concluded, that he felt himself in all the realities of waking bliss a

king indeed. "Umeen sultaunut een ust!" was his observation. Whoever advised this ceremony might be a friend to Shah Soojah, but must, in my opinion, have ill understood the native character, and have entirely overlooked that it was not calculated to do honour to his own countrymen. This is a point on which, I think, I am competent to deliver an opinion: my whole life has been spent in close intercourse with natives of every class and character, and a great portion of it in a native court far superior in wealth and importance, as respects ancient rights and hereditary claims, to that of Shah Soojah; and not only did I never see or hear of such an exhibition, but, let whatever may be the practice at Delhi, I am persuaded that it would be "more honoured in the breach than the observance" at a new court of our own creation, and that no native of Western India could have imagined the possibility of its occurrence at Kandahar.

On our arrival at Kandahar the climate had still the sweetness of spring, and the nights were cold; but as May advanced the days became sultry, and by the middle of June even the nights were close and hot. The weather, even at three thousand five hundred feet elevation in 31° north, was too severe for tents: the average range of thermometer was maximum 104°, minimum 64°; the former being twenty degrees higher, and the latter ten degrees lower, than a good house would have exhibited. In Sir A. Burnes' room, about 84° and 74° appeared to be the mean of the month.

The fruits were afterwards so surpassed by those of the orchards of Kaubool, that they were forgotten; but, when they first appeared, the apricots and plums of Kandahar were considered beyond praise: and the snow, which on our arrival the bazaar supplied at a very moderate price, but which was soon consumed, was, whilst it lasted, the unbounded delight of all to whom it was a luxury from its novelty.

The modern city of Kandahar has not existed on its present site beyond a century and a half: the ruins of the ancient city remain, about three miles to the south and west, and indicate a place of no greater extent than the present town. A broad moat, amply supplied with sweet clear water, proved that more attention had been bestowed on the former fortification than on the present. The area is elevated about fifty feet above the plain, and occupies the base and hollow of a semicircular hill, which rises to the height of about six hundred feet on the western side, and is considered inaccessible on its outer or opposite face: the northern and southern points are defended, and a line of works crests the ridge of the hill. The citadel and palace, in ruins, cover a mound about one hundred feet higher than the area of the town, and are still of some importance from their position and their capabilities of being restored.

A desolate city is such a fearful and stupen-

dous monument of man's cruelties and wickedness, that it should not be lightly passed over. The philosopher and the philanthropist should dwell upon it; and children should be taught what the masses of mankind have suffered that heroes might be deified, in preference to the falsehood and the rubbish which disgrace the name of history, and make the enemies and the curse of their race the objects of childhood's admiration.

The only curiosity that remained was a stone vase of black whinstone, of the shape of an ordinary china-cup, four feet in diameter, thirty inches deep, and six inches thick, covered with Arabic inscriptions of quotations from the Koran. The carver had hewed for some other object than for fame, as his name was not engraved on his work; at least, I did not see it. This singular piece of antiquity was left neglected under a tree, near a Faqueer's hut; and if Mr. Mac-Naughten would bestow his influence to get it conveyed to the British Museum, a trifle

of the public money might be employed in a way that would gratify public curiosity, would present a pleasing trophy of the campaign in the British metropolis, and a very interesting specimen of ancient Asiatic art from Kandahar.

Our long halt was said to have satisfied Dost Mahomed and his adherents, as well as those who wished him no good, and they were many, that Heraut was our first object, and that we should reserve Kaubool for the next season's operation. His friends the Ghiljy tribes, — occupying the districts betwixt Kandahar and Ghizni,—were encouraged to believe that their numbers and the strength of their country deterred our advance: but the delay was considered in our own camp to be occasioned entirely by the inability of the Kandahar bazaar to supply provisions for us to carry in advance for the journey; and the arrival of a caravan from Shikarpore was anxiously looked for: but at this period, the middle of June, we had

not only the empty corn-chests of the bazaar, but our own empty treasure-chests to complain of. "Upwards of thirty lakhs of rupees had been disbursed in this city," says Outram; "but every attempt to negotiate a loan failed." This was the unkindest cut of all. We had hitherto received our issues of pay regularly, except during a very short delay on our first landing in Sind, which was no fault of the Bombay Government. For the future, however, or for some time to come, we were to feed and forage like the raven; and the prospect was as gloomy as could well be imagined.

Making every allowance for the slight connection betwixt Kandahar and India, and the necessary difficulty of raising money on bills payable at such a distance, still there must have been some mismanagement, that no part of "the thirty lahks we had disbursed" on the spot could by any means have been recovered on moderate terms for the urgent necessities of the army.

The Lohany Chief — a personal friend of Sir Alexander Burnes — had been induced to furnish a caravan of four thousand camels, and to travel with a strong party of his tribe, supposed near seven hundred, and escort them from Shikarpore to Kandahar. A guard was offered him from Sukkur; but he replied, he thanked God he could guard himself, and only asked and received a few muskets and a little ammunition. His arrival was now most anxiously looked for: it had been expected on the 14th of June, but it did not take place until the 23rd. "He had been delayed," he said, "by attacks of Beloochies; but through God's assistance had severed thirty-eight of their heads from their shoulders, and had brought all safe, the enemies' heads inclusive! *two* camel-loads!"

Some said that Scriva Khan, the Lohany Chief, had been tampered with by Dost Mahomed: if so, the gallantry he displayed in repulsing the Chief of Khelaut's people when attempting to plunder the stores in his charge,

must have been a temporary effervescence, and not the constitutional character of a naturally brave man; for there was nothing to have prevented his directing his course by the Toba Mountains to Ghizni, communicating his position and his plan to the Ghiljy chiefs to cover his march through their terrific defiles, and so delivering all our stores to the enemy. Nothing but his own integrity, or far-sightedness as to his own interest, could have secured us that convoy; and it is not reasonable to impugn with treachery a humble but very useful ally, who performed a most difficult and dangerous task with perfect fidelity, because he was pleased to say that he could not go further through circumstances beyond his control, and could not do more than he had contracted to perform.

He acknowledged that his people had been tampered with by Dost Mahomed; declared himself dissatisfied with our remuneration for his past services, and our offers for the future;

said he could not trust his own people, and would not put himself in the way of being betrayed by them and compromised with the British Government. Those who knew more of the matter than I could, attached no blame to the Lohany Chief; but those whose duty it was to have been in communication with him, should have ascertained beforehand the important fact, whether he could or would proceed onward with the army.

The army was originally expected to have moved very early in June, but was prevented by instructions from Lord Auckland not to risk starvation by marching without a full supply of provisions. It was suggested that "half the army efficient was better than the whole inefficient;" but it was considered the correct policy that the whole should march, or none. The order was issued on the 10th to move on the 15th, in the confident reliance that the Lohany Chief would arrive before the 14th. On the 13th he was believed by the highest

authorities to be at Da Haji, within twenty miles.

On the 18th, a brigade of two regiments with two guns was sent from camp to prevent Scriva Khan from being intercepted by the Ghiljies; but the commanding officer, having no knowledge where the chief was, went forth to meet him, but never found him. On the 21st, another strong detachment was sent by a different road, it being ascertained, I believe, that the former had passed beyond. Finally, the stores when received could not be carried on, and were warehoused at Kandahar, for want of camels; and the army having halted the past month, for no other purpose apparently but for these stores, moved onward without them in no better plight or equipment of its commissariat than it possessed a month before. Had the one thousand two hundred horse we found shut up in Ghizni been employed the past two months in re-

moving or merely cutting up the forage and supplies we found betwixt Kandahar and Kaubool, the campaign might have had a far different issue, that is, the army could not have reached Ghizni; the natural difficulties of distance and want of forage for our cattle being sufficient obstacles.

Before our departure from Kandahar, Major Todd of the Bengal Artillery was deputed on a friendly mission to Heraut, with guns to mount upon the walls, and money to pay for the repair, in order to place that important frontier position in a better state than the Persians had left it in, and which the local resources were reported incompetent to restore.

Kamran Shah is a *débauché* of the most degraded order. Our politicals call him a king; his royal revenue, the whole resources of his state, being about 60,000*l.* per annum, much reduced latterly by the Persians having retained Goorian and its dependent valleys,

the most fertile and valuable part of the Heraut territory.

The recovery of Goorian, the expulsion of the Persians from the vicinity, the restoration of the works of Heraut, and the heavy train of British artillery mounted on them, would place the frontier in a very different position from that in which the King of Persia and Count Simwitch found it in 1838; and a treaty with Heraut, by which the sovereign should bind himself, for a consideration paid, to link himself with Kaubool, and relinquish the right to negotiate with Russia and Persia, save through British mediation, would unquestionably be a vast object gained, however worthless the personal character of the prince, and however certain that he never contemplated any ulterior result beyond the immediate acquisition of the bonus proffered. His abdication or relinquishment of independence would place him and his country under the absolute control of the British Government.

The game of Russia is not open war; and with such a treaty once established,—and I have little doubt but that ere this it has been executed,—all management for advance by mere diplomacy must be checked, if not defeated.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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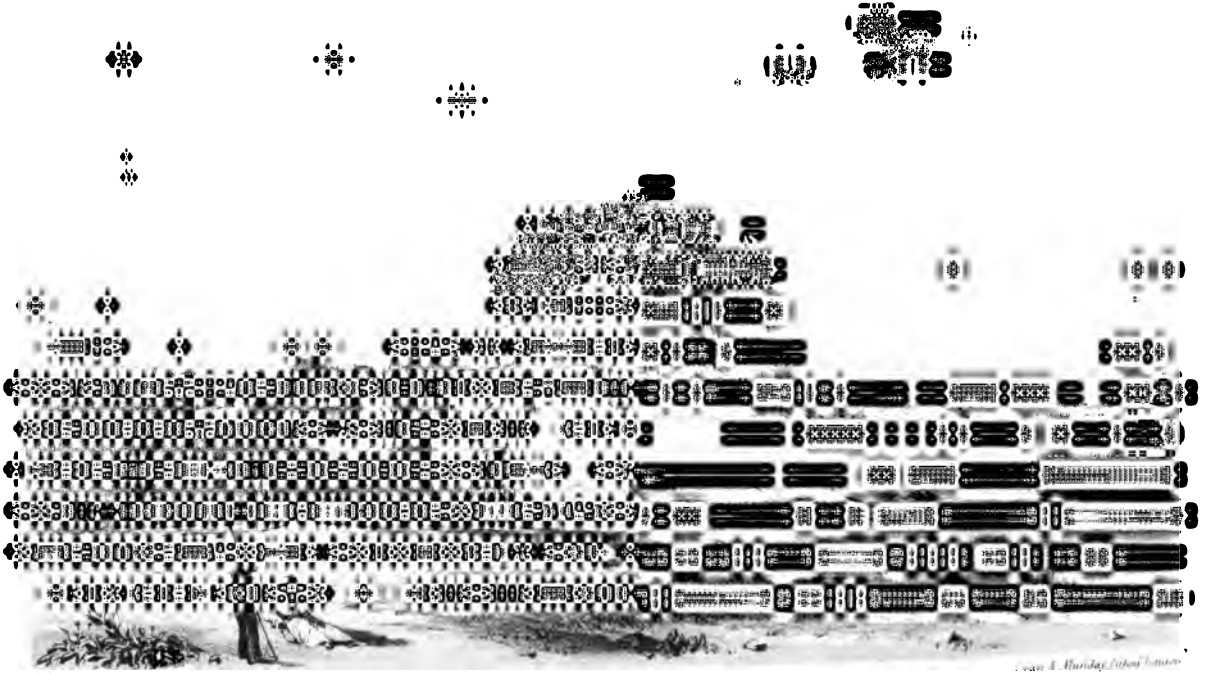

KANDAHAR – GATE – KHELAUT – Stormed 16th Nov. 1839

Lieut.t Colonel Dyce Boyde, New Buckingham Street 1840

# NARRATIVE

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE

# ARMY OF THE INDUS,

IN SIND AND KAUBOOL,

IN 1838-9.

BY

RICHARD HARTLEY KENNEDY, M.D.

LATE CHIEF OF THE MEDICAL STAFF OF THE BOMBAY DIVISION
OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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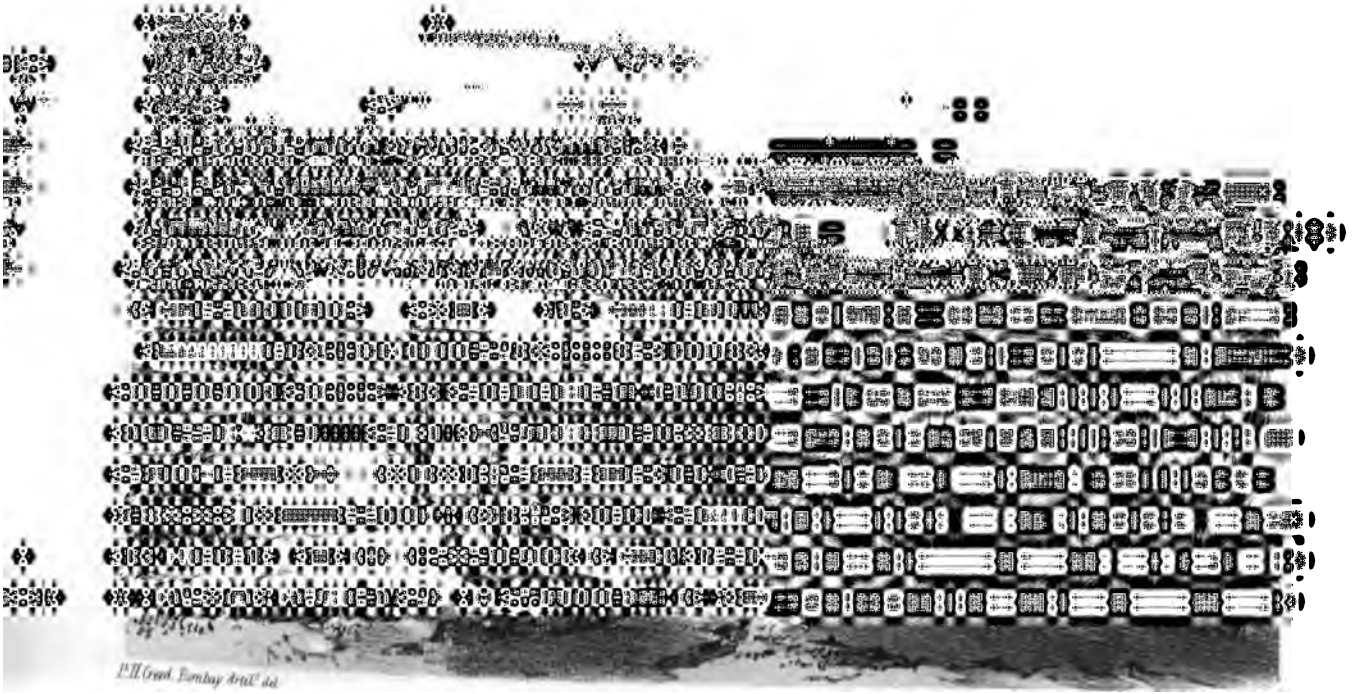
## ERRATA.

### VOL. I.

Page
6, line 18, *for* "Pinhers" *read* "Pinhey."
29, „ 7, *for* "Pendari" *read* "Pindari."
66, „ 16, *for* "they" *read* "I."
180, head-line, and wherever else the name occurs, *for* "Larkhanu" *read* "Larkhana."
250, line 14, *for* "purgamah" *read* "purgunnah."
„ „ 15, *for* "Jumboseen" *read* "Jumboseer."

### VOL. II.

51, line 6, *for* "Surgeon" *read* "Surgeons;" and line 15, *for* "Rancland" *read* "Ranclaud."
80, „ 14, *for* "Hackwell" *read* "Thackwell."
200, „ 13, *for* "Hock" *read* "Stock."
224, „ 1, *for* "Radaupore" *read* "Radanpore."



# NARRATIVE

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE

# ARMY OF THE INDUS,

IN 1838-9.

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## CHAPTER I.

March of the Grand Army.—Prevalence of jaundice from excessive heat.—The Ghiljy tribe.—One hundred and fifty camels stolen by them.—Estimated loss of men upon the march.—The Turnuck river.—Tradition respecting the Teer Undaz.—Ruined fortress of Kelaut-i-Ghiljy—Its admirable site.—Singular natural phenomenon.—Accidental discovery of a murder.—Marching order of the army.—Unfounded reports.—Moderate prices at Gholjan.—Tedious march to Mukur.—Heavy rains.—Appearance of English meadow-flowers.

The day of our departure from Kandahar, the 30th June, and those of the next few marches, were more like the Indian temperature of the summer solstice, than anything we experienced above the Bolan Pass. A high wind and

clouds of dust added to the discomfort of our position; but we were used to it, and should not have complained, had not the effect of exposure to such a temperature been shown in the prevalence of jaundice, which attacked great numbers, and particularly those who had hitherto appeared proof against the ordinary evils of the vicissitudes of climate.

The Ghiljy tribe, who occupy the district betwixt Kandahar and Ghizni, boast their descent from the ancient royal families of the country; at what period I never asked, but I believe that the sovereigns of the country were of their race within the last two centuries. They assert a species of wild independence, and Dost Mahomed had never been strong enough to subdue them into tax-paying subjects; the only object for which Asiatic rulers are disposed to think that subjects ought to exist.

On the arrival of Shah Soojah at Kandahar, they appear to have considered the future game in stronger hands, and made overtures: but, during the halt, they reassured themselves

to better hopes; and sent a Koraun to Shah Soojah, demanding that he should bind himself by an oath, to be recorded on the fly-leaf of the sacred book, to respect their independence and privileges, and that his future government should not be under the dictation of the infidels! Great exertion was made to win these savage children of the wilderness, but in vain; and it was soon found that, independently of their expectation of profit by preying upon us as plunderers exceeding all that could be offered them, the want of union among themselves, and the absence of all order and local government, left us no chance of escaping their depredations. Every village, from the Indus to Kaubool, was nothing more than a den of thieves.

Before our departure from Kandahar they were reported to be in the field in considerable numbers, and the two brigades sent out in quest of Scriva Khan had already indicated our apprehension of their force and courage; but they had attempted nothing beyond the most paltry cattle-stealing, save that on the

20th June a gang of about a hundred of them surprised the camel-men of her Majesty's 13th regiment whilst the cattle were out grazing within five miles of camp, and succeeded in carrying off the whole of the camels, amounting to about a hundred and fifty. Five European soldiers of the regiment were present, but unfortunately unarmed; and of these one was killed, and all the others wounded.

Captain Outram has stated that it was estimated on our arrival at Kandahar, "that at least five hundred Beloochies, Kaukurs, and Affghans had been slain by our troops since leaving Shikarpore and Larkhanu; the loss on our side being thirty or forty killed in open combat, besides some hundreds of followers murdered." I followed with the rear division, and can witness that on every march we found a few, and sometimes ten or a dozen bodies, left putrefying on the ground; a wretched spectacle in the face of Heaven, and deeply to be deplored that they were so left. But I would hope that the "hundreds" on both sides are a soldier's "rough notes;" and that the dead we saw, cer-

tainly far short of three hundred, were the large majority of the whole that fell of the enemy or our own people, or that were murdered of the latter.

On the 2nd of July we found ourselves on the bank of the Turnuck river, along whose course our future march was to be directed for about one hundred and fifty miles. Throughout that whole distance it was a lively, noisy current, winding through a valley which varied from one to six miles in breadth, betwixt hills of moderate elevation: the bed of the river was most tortuous, across and across the valley, and probably nearly doubled the distance, so that the fall in the course travelled cannot possibly have been less than six thousand feet; the rapidity of the brawling torrent distinctly indicating a fall of more than thirty or forty feet per mile.

On the 3rd of July we encamped near the site of an ancient city, Sher-i-Sofi, an artificial mound, on which were relics of fortification; and a great abundance of bricks were thickly heaped and widely scattered about its base.

I had a very disagreeable duty to occupy me through the day; and I may add, once for all, that the official routine of my position left me little leisure for the examination of localities, or mere curious inquiries into local statistics or antiquities. Enough for each day was the evil thereof; and the record of my journal for the 3rd of July is briefly thus: "C—— is of opinion that no one day since landing in Sind has passed without its own individual and peculiar annoyance, nor have we a disciple of the contented and laughing philosophy in our mess prepared to combat the position."

On the next morning's march we passed a monumental pillar of brick-work, about sixty feet high, and eight or nine feet square at the base, named the Teer Undaz, or "Arrow-flight;" the name was explained as indicating the spot where an arrow, shot from the neighbouring hill by some prince of antiquity, had struck the ground. The royal archer must have shot with a long bow! and the pillar is more likely to have celebrated a more probable

and important event, than an impossibly long shot.

Not a day passed without alarm of attempts by Ghiljies on our camels when grazing; and Major Cunningham, in command of the Poona Irregular Horse, had abundant opportunity of showing the mettle of his men, and his own unwearied vigilance and perseverance. No two men in the Bombay division did more than Major Cunningham and Captain Outram. The latter has been altogether omitted in the London Gazette; and Cunningham, though promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, was no gainer thereby, since, though he served as Major at Ghizni, his regimental commission of Lieutenant-Colonel took effect in the preceding April. Consequently, his friends have a right to hope, that when it is known that the brevet is no benefit conferred, the honour of the C. B. conferred on all Lieutenant-Colonels holding independent commands during the campaign may be bestowed on him.

On the 6th of July we reached the ruined

fortress of Kelaut-i-Ghiljy, the capital of the Ghiljy country: it is memorable in the history of the Sultaun Bauber for his desperate assault and storm, and the gallantry of its brave garrison.

A sugar-loaf hill, of apparently three or four hundred feet elevation, very steep on the sides, with abundant space on the top for a fortified city, and two singularly abundant springs of sweet pure water gushing out of the hill at its summit, forms an admirable site for a native fort: the works were everywhere in a state of utter dilapidation, and the modern village is built two miles distant on the bank of the Turnuck. The Commander-in-chief and the Envoy, it was said, had reconnoitred the site with a view to the restoration of the fortification by Shah Soojah.

On the 8th of July we halted at Sher-i-Asp, the City of the Horse: I would hope that none of our antiquaries may find here the site of the city founded by Alexander in honour of Bucephalus! We were now enjoying the benefit of an ascent of probably two thousand

feet, having travelled upwards of ninety miles of steady and perceptible ascent: the thermometer was only 86° in our tents; and the nights cool, the morning air bracing and refreshing.

On the 9th, at Nouruk, the Rev. G. Pigott and myself were witnesses of a very singular natural phenomenon. For this and the next few days we found the bushes near the bank of the river covered with clouds of a large-sized bright-brown insect of the dragon-fly tribe, buzzing about and merrily enjoying their brief existence. Whilst sitting together, we observed a scaled reptile creeping up the tent-wall; at a certain height it stuck, and appeared shortly to be undergoing sundry throes and convulsions, which were sufficiently marked to attract our attention: finally, the scaly coat of the creature burst, and an enclosed winged insect very slowly extricated itself from its husky tenement, and gradually developed its gauzy wings, very different figure from the reptile on whose filmy transparent shell it remained perched. It was one of the merry noisy dragon-flies, and this appeared to be

their winging-time. How long it remained ere it took flight we did not observe; but the period that elapsed betwixt its being a creeping thing on the tent-wall, and its shaking off its earthly coil to expand its transparent wings for the regions of air, was less than two hours. Who would not envy such a translation from earth to heaven?

These brown insects appeared, however, to have little that was enviable in their lot: they were falling by thousands into the river, and shoals of fish were busy devouring them! Our anglers had much amusement, as our camp was always on the bank of the river. Two of them whilst pursuing their sports, either at the stage last mentioned or the next, observing two native Ghiljies standing knee-deep in water in a somewhat unusual manner, approached them to satisfy their curiosity: their movement not suiting the parties alluded to, they fled precipitately; and, on their moving, the body of one of our followers, whom they had murdered, and on which they were standing to keep it out of sight until the gentlemen should have

passed, rose to the surface, and was rolled over by the stream. The murderers, I believe, escaped.

We were marching at this time in three columns, the Bengal division leading, under the Commander-in-chief, accompanied by Sir Alexander Burnes, without whose local knowledge and personal influence not a step in advance could have been taken with safety.

The second column consisted of Shah Soojah, with a host of his hungry expectants, open-mouthed to beg and open-handed to receive, and the smallest donation most exceedingly well scrambled for; his new levies officered by British officers, with whom his majesty was far from popular: and a troop of the Bombay Horse Artillery. Mr. M'Naughten accompanied the Shah, and the public interest was consulted in giving the advanced post to Sir Alexander Burnes.

The third column, under General Willshire, consisted of the Bombay Infantry Brigade, with the Poona Irregular Horse, under Major Cunningham, for our cavalry,—a total of about

one thousand five hundred men. Our marches averaging under fourteen miles, were dependent on convenience for water; and were generally made betwixt two and three, and eight and nine A.M.; according as the distance travelled might be a few miles more or less, or the road offered particular obstructions: the pace of the artillery, and General Willshire's theory of halting, reduced our rate of travelling to less than two and a half miles per hour on the period spent betwixt the first bugle and the piling arms on the new ground. "Many men, many minds," says the proverb; for my own part, I humbly opine that where the soldier has from fifty to sixty pounds' weight to carry, and a distance of twelve or fourteen miles to march, and a solar temperature above 100° to bake in, the shorter the time he is about it the better. A marching rate of three and a half miles per hour steadily maintained, with a quarter of an hour's halt after travelling two hours, would carry a regiment over the ground with less fatigue than a slower pace and more frequent halts; and an hour to spare

till the tents should arrive would be better spent in sleep on the new ground than in unrefreshing halts, where the men stand laden with their packs and accoutrements, and are not quite so comfortable as their officers, who dismount from their horses, smoke their cheroots the while, and appear exceedingly happy and at their ease.

On the 13th, at Chusma Thadi, a report was rife that a body of five hundred Ghiljies were prowling in our vicinity; and we had a repetition of our plagues of Jerruk in that extreme caution, which is military wisdom beyond a question, but very disagreeable, more especially to the civil department of the army.

The morning of the 14th, on the march of Punjuk, we had a military scene. Report announced that on the road we should come upon a notorious ravine most infamous for robbers, and in which we were pretty sure, to use the words of the order issued on our departure from Kandahar, to be "felt by the enemy;" those said words alluding in no degree to the blows to be administered by us on their heads

and shoulders, but simply that the enemy were to be the men of feeling, figuratively, in any attempt they might be pleased to make to feel their way to our cattle and baggage.

When we had advanced about five miles, and it was broad daylight, Major Cunningham was called, and duly instructed to proceed in advance; and, when he reached this ravine, he was directed to scour it, and put to death every enemy he should find in it.

The Poona Horse were soon in fighting trim, dismantled of cloaks and Kumly shawls; and went off double-quick in a slanting direction, so as to come on the flank of any enemy that might be in the ravine, and were quickly out of sight. In another hour we came to the place. It was the green grassy hollow of a little rivulet, to which the sloping descended on either hand, and very gradually, without either rock, or precipice, or ravine, or even a bush to hide an enemy: a less thievish-looking place we scarcely saw in the whole country. Major Cunningham had luckily seen no one, and consequently had a bright sword-

blade. It would have been as fortunate for Captain Swanson, our paymaster, if he had escaped with as clean a cloak; for, in passing the brook, his horse bungled at the leap, and came down in a manner that gave us all an alarm for our friend. He was happily unhurt, and this valley of apprehension was only memorable for his soiled uniform.

The next day, July 15th, we entered the territory of Dost Mahomed, having hitherto been in the independent Kandahar or Ghiljy country. Our halt was at Gholjan, remarkable for a battle fought against the Ghiljies by Nadir Shah, who appears to have considered that none but villains could be there, and to have put every being to death he could lay his hands on. A mound is shown designated Kauk Khana (the place of dust), meaning figuratively a grave, where the slaughtered Ghiljies were buried, and a pyramid of their severed heads erected on its summit.

By a strange and unexpected change we had once more a local bazaar supplied from the surrounding country. Our free expenditure, and

our unimaginable honesty, paying sterling money for whatever supplies the country could furnish, had been the marvel of gods and men; and as we had descended upon the country, like Jupiter upon Danaë, in a shower of gold, its whole resources were at last becoming available. During all the time that the bazaar prices in Kandahar had been never cheaper than five seers or ten pounds of flour for a rupee, and for the most part below two and a half seers or five pounds, and barley seldom cheaper than ten pounds for our horses, generally only six pounds, the bazaar of this district had supplied forty seers for a rupee; and the arrival of our army did not raise the prices beyond twelve seers of flour, and twenty-three seers of barley, for a rupee. Thus, had one-third of the army moved on so far, instead of halting at Kandahar, a less quantity might have been required there, which would have made it less dear; and such a brigade might have been fed and foraged here at one-tenth the rate it cost to provide for them at Kandahar.

The care of the gambler, who buys the whole

lottery, and wins the chief prize by paying more for it than it is worth, resembles the caution which leaves nothing to be decided by superior skill in strategy, and the superior discipline and bravery of troops, when the latter at least are indisputable; and will make no move but upon the unquestionable certainty of success, however incommensurate to the end to be attained the expenditure may be that must be incurred to secure such a certainty.

Still out of the evil may yet result some good; every thing that has appeared in our connection with the Punjaub has gone to show that some collision with the Seik power might soon have been forced upon us by its unmanageable military mass of half-disciplined fanatics; so that the strength, and wealth, and enterprise shown in this expedition for the restoration of Shah Soojah, may moderate that evil whenever it comes. All India too was in a ferment and excitement, the consequence of what has been designated Lord William Bentinck's non-interference system; and some-

thing was really requisite beyond paying off the five millions of the five per cent. loan, which had been seriously prepared for in April 1838, partly by two millions cash, and three millions to be raised by a new four per cent. loan. The worst of it is that it was requisite in the first place; and, in the second, that millions were spent when a comparatively small fraction of that expenditure judiciously administered might perhaps have sufficed.

The march from Gholjan to Mukur was in strict accordance with the best recorded military rules; every hillock was reconnoitred ere approached, and it cost us five and a half weary hours to march a stage of less than ten miles. We were told that the Shah's people had been attacked the preceding day, and had beaten off the enemy, killing from twenty to thirty of them: we saw four headless bodies in a humble muzjid, or Mahomedan place of prayer, near a very extensive burial-ground; the heads had been hacked off and carried away as trophies by the Shah's warriors, the bodies

had been brought hither apparently for burial by their friends. Had there been twenty killed, the whole number of twenty heads would no doubt have been produced to the Shah, and the headless bodies most probably seen by us.

On the evening of the 17th of July we had loud thunder, and threatening clouds, and wind and a storm at midnight. The following morning, on our march to Oba, we found that exceedingly heavy rains must have fallen in the hills, whence torrents were descending that had deluged the plain, and made our march tedious, and difficult for the artillery and baggage. When near Oba we heard distinct reports of heavy ordnance, and were at a loss to understand it; but, on arriving at Oba, we found that the Shah's camp had not moved, having been deluged with heavy rain, and that the artillery we had heard was his majesty's rejoicing for the blessing of rain. It was lucky for those who enjoyed it to be so gratified; but to troops in tents a fall of rain is no very great favour to

be thankful for. The Shah's column moved off before noon, and the same night it was again deluged by another fall; whilst, strange to say, the rear division had not a drop, though the loud thunder and vivid lightning of the preceding evening again occurred to intimate that mischief was abroad somewhere.

On the morning march of the 19th we were seriously incommoded by the effects of the rain. The country was now assuming a more interesting appearance; numerous wooded villages were seen, and signs of population and industry, with security of person and property, appeared beyond anything that had been observed since we left Sehwan.

We had now reached a very elevated region, and the heavy falls of rain had cooled and purified the air, so that we were enjoying the sweets of a delicious summer climate. It seemed strange to see the turf gaily blossoming with English meadow-flowers, and the face of the country covered with verdure; among my old acquaintances I was surprised to find

abundance of well-flavoured wild parsley, and only regretted the want of a boiled chicken to which the sauce seasoned with

> "Some sprigs from the bed
> Where children are bred"

seems indissolubly united, and no divorce allowable.

## CHAPTER II.

March to join head-quarters.—Vast area covered by our baggage-train.—First view of Ghizni.—Amusing military metamorphosis.—Attack on Ghizni commenced.—Ineffectual firing of the enemy.—Orders to move ground.—Strange combination of the sweet and terrible.—Ancient minarets.—Great merit of the capture of Ghizni.—Mismanagement of the enemy—their formidable wall-guns.—Intelligence from Dost Mahomed's nephew.—Enemy assemble in our rear.—Prisoners beheaded by Shah Soojah.—Horrible mode of execution—its injustice.—Discreditable position of the British officials.

On Saturday, the 20th July, we had dined, and were anticipating a night's rest, but in homely phraseology we were "reckoning without our host;" for about eight in the evening arrived an express from the advance, directing our immediate march to join head-quarters. We had made a stage of sixteen miles in seven hours in the morning; that is to say, first bugle a quarter to one o'clock, march at

two o'clock, and arrival after nine o'clock,—a weary journey! Happy for those who had slept through the day; I had not. The bugle sounded, the line formed, and we marched at nine o'clock, and travelled till midnight, a distance under eight miles. We were told that the advanced columns were close to us, and we saw the fires of their pickets; and a line was assigned us to stretch our weary limbs on the ground, and snatch the brief repose allowed until daybreak, when we were again to advance.

Scarcely, however, had we made ourselves as comfortable as a military cloak on the bare heath, with a stone for a pillow, would allow,—and many a time have I less enjoyed a luxurious bed, with all the voluptuous appliances of repose, than I now blessed, my mother earth below, and the canopy of stars above,—scarcely had I selected my stony pillow, and closing my eyes had hoped to dream, like the Patriarch on the bare wold of Luz, of that mystic stair which unites earth to heaven, and is the thoroughfare for those holy protecting spirits whose influences we are taught

to consider exercised in our favour, when the harsh summons to move awoke us up, and we had to seek a new position. Ere we were finally arranged, our baggage train arrived, and the night was spent among camels and horses. We knew not the cause at the time, but were afterwards told that a midnight attack upon the camp was expected, and that the ground we were first on was considered too exposed and open. The head-quarter camp was under arms and in readiness, but no attempt was made by the enemy to disturb us further than by false reports.

At four in the morning our line was forming, and at five we commenced our march on Ghizni: it had been estimated, with due attention to accuracy as far as it could be attained, that our baggage that morning, the whole army being together, covered sixteen square miles! I should have said double, had my uninformed opinion been asked as a mere matter of guess work. For the whole distance, nearly twelve miles, the country seemed everywhere covered with camels and followers; and,

as it was chiefly a broad open plain, without trees or hollows of any kind, the whole were at all times under observation.

The army moved in three parallel columns, prepared at a moment to form line, and take up position for action; and thus slowly advanced until the citadel of Ghizni was distinctly visible. At about ten o'clock we were halted, and the Bombay Cavalry Brigade, under Brigadier Scott, passed us very rapidly, proceeding to the rear, for the same reason for which we halted, to cover and protect the baggage, on another false report that the enemy's horsemen were threatening it.

These false reports were so frequent, and evidently so groundless, that too severe a censure cannot be expressed on the want of judgment and credulity of the authorities, whose duty it was to sift intelligence received from spies, and weigh the credit due to the individuals conveying it, ere they placed it in that official form which left a chief like ours, unaccustomed to the Asiatic character, no alternative but to incur some risk which he

could scarcely be a judge of, or to harass his troops by needless precaution and unnecessary fatigues. The latter generally occurred; and, from the first camp at the Hujamry to the last at Kaubool, we had the same repetition of idle reports, asserted to-day, proved false to-morrow, and never without some corresponding annoyance inflicted on some part of the army.

The party in which I rode was much amused at the military metamorphosis which took place this morning, of a quiet, sober-minded staff-officer of the civil department, into a fiery cavalier. Captain Swanson, Military Paymaster of the Bombay division, belonged to the 19th regiment Bombay Native Infantry; and, as something or other in the shape of a free and gentle passage of arms had been promised for the morning's amusement, he had as a matter of duty joined his regiment. We, who had been wont to know him, as a member of the staff-mess, one of the mildest of men and most obliging of paymasters, were amazed to see his tall, handsome, and manly figure,

is large grey, which on ordi-
ns had never looked half so big
so fiery, coming galloping up, with
ve out of the way, gentlemen, if you
ease," and instantly taking up a point for his regiment, which had to form and halt where we had dismounted. My inward wonderment was, whether any change of circumstances could possibly have made me go over such ground at such a fashion; for, in our every-day temperament, my excellent and esteemed friend was fully as sober-sided a character, and as averse to any ultra-rapidity of locomotion, as myself.

The loud report of artillery now reached us, and it was evident that hostilities were commenced; but the play seemed chiefly on our side: an occasional gun was seen fired from the fort, whilst our shells fell thick and frequent. This continued apparently for an hour: at about eleven we moved onward; and reached our ground, barely out of gun-shot of the north-west angle of the fort, at twelve.

Captain Bulkely and I rode as near to the

fort as we thought safe, where a rising ground gave a close and full view of the whole north face: a serjeant of the Commissariat and some followers were there, and were taking great precaution, whilst indulging their curiosity, to keep under cover of a tomb on the crest of the hill. On our exposing ourselves upon the higher ground, they pointed out where a shot from the fort had struck; and the dint it had made, and the mark it had left, showed very clearly that we were much nearer and more within correct gun-shot than we imagined. Whilst quietly gazing about, we heard a loud report from the fort, and a shrill whistle in the air above our heads; and saw a cloud of dust rise about two hundred yards beyond us. If aimed at us, the shot was in a very good direction, but a trifle too high! It did not, however, fall harmlessly, as it killed a horse in the lines of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, and very quickly occasioned their moving ground to a more respectable distance.

We breakfasted at near two o'clock, and the unceasing labours of thirty-six hours had produced a weariness which soon sunk into

sound sleep; but it was very short: before four o'clock the order for moving ground was announced, the tents were quickly struck, and the poor camels again laden for another journey.

At six we were in motion, the baggage under protection of parties of cavalry; and all the artillery were to go by the circuitous level route along the western face of the fort, keeping at a distance of about three miles; and the infantry brigades were to climb the range of hills at the north-east angle on their northern side, and descend the southern into the plain, on the south-east angle of the town and fort of Ghizni.

I have seldom experienced the sweets of nature in all the balmy bloom and perfume of a summer evening so deliciously developed as whilst we crossed the Ghizni river and proceeded through the fragrant-blossomed clover-fields on its banks. The villagers from a rudely fortified village came out to look at us, and asked if we were proceeding to Kaubool: they evidently seemed to think we had tried the fort in the morning, and did not like it; they showed no personal alarm, and we were now

so well known in the country, and the villagers were either so little embued with feelings of loyalty to Dost Mahomed, or so strongly devoted to gain, that we were no sooner halted before Ghizni, than they were driving their asses laden with clover and lucerne for sale through our camp.

The march was laborious and difficult, up a very steep ascent on one side, and down a very precipitous descent on the other. The view from the summit of the hill was one of the most enchanting landscapes in the country: the windings of the river through its dark green fields; the expanse of the valley, studded with numerous villages, surrounded with luxuriant orchards; the fort every now and then discharging a heavy gun; the long line of the three brigades of infantry slowly but steadily working their laborious way over the rugged hill,—were a strange combination of the sweet and the terrible: and the destined destruction of the garrison before us, a matter of supposed certainty, added fearful interest to the sublime and beautiful of the scene.

We reached the ground destined for the new camp about eight in the evening. The enemy kept steadily firing as fast, probably, as they could load their guns,—perhaps once in five minutes; and the period betwixt seeing the flash and hearing the report, the muzzle of the gun being directed towards us, was just short of seven seconds, making the distance nearly or exactly a mile and a half. As a large part of the Bombay Infantry Brigade camp was nearer to the fort than the spot on which we stood to make this observation, the military reader may form his own idea of "the commanding number of guns," described in the dispatch; or more modestly reported by the engineer as "nine guns of different calibres," which defended the fort: this idea would further have been more correctly formed, had the engineer or artillery officer's report of the ordnance captured, their calibre, and the *status quo*, been annexed, as is usually done, to the dispatch. But let me not appear to detract from the merit of the brave men who stormed the fort within forty hours after the moment

I alluded to; and who were, at the time I speak of, slowly, and in the most incomparably perfect discipline, moving in brigades towards their ground of encampment.

The merit of the capture of Ghizni is great, and beyond all praise: but history will record it as due, first, to the engineer officers who planned and executed the bold manœuvre which opened the way for the assault; secondly, to Colonel Denny, who led the storming party, and has not been sufficiently mentioned; thirdly, to Brigadier Sale and the four gallant regiments under his command, her Majesty's 2nd, 13th, and 17th regiments, and the Bengal European regiment, forming a grand total under fifteen hundred strong; and fourthly, to there not being a single bottle of liquor available on any terms for the soldiers, and thus their incomparable bravery was only surpassed by their incomparable sobriety and good conduct,—not one atrocity was committed.

Further, the great glory of the affair of Ghizni is not more that it was "one of the most brilliant acts ever witnessed by the Commander-in-

chief during forty-five years' service in the four quarters of the globe;" but that the army was in a position where it was in a measure compromised by the results of the halt at Kandahar, and the unfortunate moment at which the death of Runjet Sing had occurred, by which Dost Mahomed's followers were so much encouraged and excited, might have had such an effect, that, if the fort had not been taken, a difficult retreat might have been very probably the eventual consequence; for in such case the enemy might have dared to commence a systematic resistance, and might have ventured to surround our baggage guards and foraging parties with his countless superiority of numbers.

The insanity of the besieged, in shutting up a thousand really valuable cavalry in an untenable fort, to be caught in a trap, shows in a brief view their infant simplicity or childish timidity. Cavalry in a fort would be nearly as useful as on board ship in a naval action; and their seeking the shelter of a wall, instead of disturbing our camp every night, harass-

ing our baggage-train every day, and assailing our advance and rear and flank guards, and foraging parties, whenever assailable, probably twenty times daily, during the long journey of four hundred miles from the Bolan Pass to Ghizni, betrays at a glance the metal they were made of.

But there was also more artillery than the "nine guns of different calibres;" and, though it could scarcely be designated a "commanding artillery," it had to be faced, and might perhaps have been better described. The hunter who kills a tiger or a bear, gives the measurement from the tip of the nose to the tip of the tail, and the length of claws and tusks; and the rough character of the savage contest is conjectured by the incidents and the result. The storm of Ghizni can hardly be compared to Badajoz or St. Sebastian's; but the enemy's Jinjals, or native artillery, might have been more dwelt on. They are formidable wall-guns of hammered iron, constructed in their own bazaars, and throw a ball of half a pound over

a range of a thousand yards; forming a very deadly arm for defending a wall or a position: they were, in fact, the strength of the place, and would have maintained the works long enough to have sorely disconcerted us, had there been fidelity, or courage, or conduct in the garrison.

The defection of Dost Mahomed's nephew, a shrewd intelligent man, and tenderly alive to his own interests and safety, who left the fort and deserted to us the night before we arrived at Ghizni, gave to the Engineer department the great advantage of a correct knowledge of the topography. They were instructed, before any reconnoissance was made of the "enemy's strength in guns and in other respects;" they were told where to dig without molestation, whence they could drain the "wet ditch, filled with water and unfordable;" finally, they where told where the magazine was palpably exposed to fire, a circumstance indicating the same ignorance in the governor of the garrison, which shut up his cavalry in a fort, stand-

ing as it did on the hill, open and undefended, to be blown up in half an hour whenever it should be an object with the British artillery to explode it.

These points detract nothing from the just praise due to Majors Thompson and Peat who opened the way, or to Colonel Denny who led, and Brigadier Sale who commanded, and the four gallant regiments who stormed, when, circumstances requiring a *coup de main* to enter, a *vive force* to carry the place at once and at so critical a moment was indispensable, and when delay was injury. They did their duty nobly; the only misfortune for them is that their gallantry has not had greater justice done to it in official documents.

Soldiers eat as well as fight. The indefatigable industry of our native camp-servants may be understood when I say that, marching as we had been almost forty-six hours on foot, and moving, the staff mess-tent was pitched, and a hot supper provided of abundant pro-

vision to serve for a late dinner. Our tents were all up before midnight, and I sought my bed to enjoy perfect rest.

The following day, the 22nd July, was a day of no ordinary interest. Before us was the fort firing its five-minute guns, apparently relying upon the noise to frighten us off, as crows are scared from a corn-field: they did not appear to fire at anything, the fire seemed for firing's sake; but the hill on our flank and rear presented a most formidable array of the enemy's rabble, covering the heights and clustering on the summits. It was not, I believe, considered desirable to employ the army generally against these people: had it been so, a fearful slaughter might have been made, for they put themselves most unaccountably forward, and showed the only spark of courage we had yet seen among them. Captain Outram attacked them at the head of a part of the Shah's levies, and defeated them with a very trifling loss on our side, and not much on theirs; as they did not stand for any close-

quarter work, and the force acting was too small for any flank movement to intercept their retreat.

It was on this occasion that so many prisoners were beheaded by Shah Soojah's order. On being brought in, the King seems to have thought it would be agreeable to look at them, and have a little conversation with them; and they were consequently paraded in the royal presence! His Majesty upbraided them roundly as rebels, &c.; whereon one more heroic than the rest, or more probably intoxicated with opium, reviled the Lord's anointed, as an infidel at heart and a friend and slave of infidels, and wounded one of the King's servants (a Peish Kidmut) with his dagger, on the menial, in the terror of horrified loyal sycophancy, attempting to stop his mouth, and the torrent of his abuse! The King, it is said, forthwith ordered the whole party, upwards of sixty in number, to be put to death.

Captain Outram's narrative slurs over this

affair in a manner that I hope silently shows his opinion of it; and his position may explain his motives for keeping such an opinion to himself. He describes the number of prisoners at about fifty; and says that one of them, "on being brought into the King's presence, stabbed one of the principal officers of state in the open durbar,—an offence for which the whole *are said* to have atoned with their lives."

I heard that the person wounded was a Peish Kidmut, and such a man may be a principal officer of state in an Asiatic durbar, where the scale of intellect and education betwixt the prince and his chief butler, and the chief baker and the prime minister, is not widely different; but why write that they were "*said to have atoned* with their lives," when everybody knew that a great many prisoners, in reality upwards of sixty, had been put to death?

A British officer of the Bombay column was said to have accidentally witnessed the de-

struction of these miserable creatures; and his statement as it reached me was, that they were huddled together pinioned, some sitting, some lying on the ground, some standing, and four or five executioners armed with heavy Affghan knives — a something betwixt a sword and a dagger, the shape of a carving-knife, two feet long in the blade, broad and heavy,—were very coolly, and in no sort of hurry, hacking and hewing at their necks one after the other, till all were beheaded.

The Bengal papers have attempted to charge the responsibility of this on Lord Keane. I would hope that when he heard of it, he may have given an English opinion in condemnation of it; but it is not likely that he could have had any intimation of it before it was all over. The Shah's camp was two miles from his tent, and it was a mere political question which would not be referred to him by Mr. M'Naughton.

The first folly of having brought such people at such a moment into the King's presence, and

so occasioning the outrage, should have palliated its atrocity and mitigated its punishment, as the wounded man did not die. But allowing that one life was justly forfeited, and that the audacious criminal who struck the King's servant in the King's presence was beyond mercy, the remaining sixty-four were prisoners of war; and to call Dost Mahomed and his sons rebels, and to talk of sparing their lives on the one hand, or of executing them on the other, can be justified by no law, and upheld by no reasoning under heaven.

It is little creditable to British honour to know that this could never have occurred but under the protection of the British artillery, and within the lines of a British camp: even the Ghizni dispatch exhibits the British Commander-in-chief soliciting the fulfilment of the Shah's promise to spare the life of his prisoner Hyder Khan, as if the bare possibility of the contrary could have been contemplated. But Mr. M'Naughton's letter to Captain Outram, published by the latter as the twenty-fifth chapter

of his Narrative, is enough, without further commentary, to show the courtier tone that was generally adopted. India was not won after this fashion, may God in his mercy grant that it be not lost thus!

## CHAPTER III.

Observations on the Official Reports of the capture of Ghizni.—Gallant conduct of the British Sick.—Account of Transactions within the fort.—Resistance of the Enemy.—Collisions with stragglers.—Praiseworthy conduct of the Surgical Department.—Hair-breadth escapes.—Defensive Armour.—Curious surgical cases.—Amount of the prize-money.—Wulla Mahomed executed.—Visit to the Tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni.—Account of ancient Ghizni.—Arrival of Dost Mahomed's brother, the Nuwaub Jubul Khan, in the British camp—his kindness to British travellers—his reception by Shah Soojah.

The very clear and valuable reports on the taking of Ghizni, by Majors Thompson and Peat the engineer officers, are sufficient history. Their professional report should prevent my venturing a remark on the strength or otherwise of the fortifications: but in the first place they are evidences in their own favour; and though their great merit requires no over-

shaded picture, and their mild, unpretending character, in which they greatly resemble each other,—and it is the sure proof of excellence,—would forbid the possibility of the least intentional error, still the stronger the place the greater the praise. Thus we need not complain at their being "surprised to find a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about thirty-five feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a fausse-braye and wet ditch;" a phraseology which, by the way, the dispatch has not only borrowed without acknowledgment, but has altered by leaving out a whole line, and the words "stated to be" when applying the epithet "unfavourable" to the ditch, thereby making nonsense of the "filled with water."

But I may state in defence of my own notion, that an officer of high rank, and remarkable for his services in the four quarters of the globe, but more remarkable still for a certain unvarnished and undisguised mode of delivering his opinion, and applying the eight parts of speech in his conversation,

was described as having been heard to say, when riding round the fort, one evening after the capture, that it was "but a rotten hole after all;" and, so far as I am capable of judging, I would say that, during the Dekkan war, Sir Lionel Smith, and the army under his command, took probably at least a score of forts, if not more, of which the weakest was stronger in its works and its position, and more capable of defence than Ghizni, and, generally speaking, with not one tenth of the force of artillery which was employed under Lord Keane.

On the evening before the storm, my duty led me to prepare the field-hospitals, &c. and to arrange for the expected casualties. On visiting the hospital-tents of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments, I was surprised to find them cleared of sick! The gallant fellows had all but risen in mutiny on their surgeons, and insisted on joining their comrades! none remained in hospital but the hopelessly bedridden, who literally could not crawl; and even of these, a portion, who could just stand and

walk, were dressed, and made to look like soldiers, to take the hospital guard: no effective man could be kept away!

This incident is invaluable for history. How high must be the moral character, the native inborn energy of a country, whose peasantry and operatives of every denomination—and the mixed classes whence the soldiery are drawn from the three kingdoms could produce a body of men beyond doubt a fair sample of the whole,—could show this heroic courage and contempt of danger, or rather love of the excitement and wild fortunes of a rush into a garrisoned town through the "imminent deadly breach," and the perilous edge of battle when it raged.

One of the chiefs in the garrison, describing the event, said that they had considered the army defeated on the 21st, and had so reported it to Dost Mahomed; that, when we moved ground that evening, they supposed we were off for Kaubool, and were surprised to see us encamp on the opposite side. On the evening of the 22nd it was evident that we

meant to besiege, and that night they were holding a council of war, at which Hyder Khan had proposed to send away all the females in the fort to a place of protection: his wishes were opposed; and they were breaking up the discussion, which had lasted through the night, when the explosion at the gate occurred, and the same moment the batteries on the hill opened. No one knew what had occurred; and the three leading companies of the advance, under Colonel Denny, were actually in the fort ere the enemy, generally, was aware that the gate was blown open; the explosion having been considered nothing more than the bursting of a shell; and, the whole party then on guard in the gateway having been killed by the explosion, no one had escaped to tell the tale or report the occurrence.

When it was found that the head of the column was actually in the fort, a party of the garrison rushed down, sword in hand, to the gate; and came at once on the rear company of the advance, the left flank company of the Bengal European regiment, which thus

suffered so much more severely than the others. "These swordsmen," (says Major Thompson) "were repulsed, and there was no more regular opposition." Some casualties occurred by the accidental collision of parties of the garrison endeavouring to escape, and cut their way through the advancing column of the assailants; and this explains what is termed in the dispatch "a desperate struggle within the fort for a considerable time," &c. and which appears to contradict the engineer's simple statement of what he himself witnessed.

"A few desperate characters," says Outram, "continued during the day to defend isolated houses, thereby wounding one officer, and killing and wounding several of the men; but before evening they had been all subdued, and the place was entirely clear of the garrison."

This passage is apt to convey an erroneous impression of very "desperate characters" indeed; and to defend isolated houses until evening, indicates a struggle of some importance through a long day.

I remember to have heard the firing and to have seen the smoke, and to have been told the same evening, by those who had just returned from the fort, that sundry small parties of the garrison, having been unable to escape, had endeavoured to conceal themselves in the recesses of certain houses in the town; and being accidentally stumbled upon, and discovered, by our straggling plundering parties, defended themselves, or assaulted our people, and that in this confusion and *mêlée* some accidents followed. This, having occurred several times, attracted notice, and a general search of the houses was ordered; during which examination the officer was wounded and the firing took place, which I think was about three or four o'clock in the afternoon.

Our duties in the field-hospital commenced with the first dawn of day; with which we descried, through the dim haze, the hospital doolies or litters, hastening to us with the wounded men. Six wounded officers and thirty-three men of the Bombay column devolved to my department; the wounded of the Bengal

division being provided for in their own lines. It was a fearful sight to open out huge gashes of sword-wounds, and a melancholy duty to sigh over those that were incurable. My zealous and able coadjutors, Staff-surgeon Pinhey, Surgeon Smith of her Majesty's 17th, and Hunter of her Majesty's 2nd, and Assistant-Surgeon Chatterton of the Poona Horse, deserved my warmest thanks for the admirable skill and promptness with which they discharged their painful duties. Assistant-Surgeons Thatcher and Cannan accompanied the storming party, and shared every danger with their military brethren. Assistant-Surgeons Watkins and Rancland of the Artillery, and Grant of the Engineer Corps, were stationed at the Artillery depôt, at the nearest spot to the fort under cover, and were at hand to assist all who were brought out requiring immediate treatment. All did their duty well. Many singular anecdotes were told of hair-breadth escapes, which no doubt occur to the same extent in all passages of arms. Captain Raitt of the Queen's Royals, when wounded in the hand, was cut

down, and felled to the ground by a sabre-blow, which happily inflicted only a moderate cut, being parried by the steel plate of his grenadier wing on his right shoulder: when down, another blow, which must otherwise have proved mortal, was fenced off by the metal lid of his drinking-horn slung to his side. Lieutenant Simmonds, Adjutant of the Queen's Royals, afterwards again severely wounded at Khelaut, owed his life to his having one of his official memorandum-books and his silk handkerchief in his cap: a heavy ball, apparently from a jinjal, severely wounded him in the head, notwithstanding the protection of the book, and, passing downwards, was again parried by the plate of his shoulder-strap. Captain Robinson, of the same regiment, would certainly have been killed by a sabre-wound on the head, had he not been protected by the coarse, thick leathern lining of a country-made forage-cap. There were several other cases; but these alone suffice to show that something in the way of moderate armour, that should protect and not incommode, might be introduced with great

advantage in the army. Here were three valuable officers preserved to their friends and the service by what seemed the merest casualty of accidental protection. The cuirass and helmet, and the steel gauntlet reaching nearly to the elbow, might be made very little more cumbersome than the present accoutrements, in which utility seems sacrificed without obtaining ornament. That extraordinary article, the sabre-tash, always appeared to me the most incomprehensibly useless relic of the age of pig-tails and grease and flour for a soldier's head-dress: but a native horseman once galloping past me, with his tobra dangling to his housings, convinced me that the original of the sabre-tash was the nose-bag; and I could not but regret that it should have been exchanged from a useful article to a useless encumbrance.

Macbeth delivers an opinion, which has been generally received as a very tolerably correct one in what are termed by hospital pupils surgical cases, that "when the brains were out the man would die;" yet, strange to say, a soldier

of her Majesty's 2nd Royals received an iron ball as big as a walnut in the spot of junction of the frontal and parietal bones of his skull, which made a hole an inch in diameter, and drove out a mass of the poor fellow's brains; and yet he lived fully eleven hours, insensible of course, but breathing and his heart acting.

A similar occurrence took place with one of the Beloochies shot at the top of the Bolan Pass. The bullet, a large carbine-ball, passed right through his brains, and he was found still breathing several hours afterwards: they sent for the doctor!—my poor friend Forbes, —who could only tell them that the miserable wretch was mortally wounded and insensible.

Of casualties in the garrison the most thrilling occurrence must be considered to be the fate of the gate-guard, whom Lieutenant Durand, when placing the powder-bags which were to blow the whole party to eternity, saw through the chinks of the gate, squatting in the gate-way smoking their hookahs, and no doubt perfectly well pleased with their position! Another moment, and they found death and bu-

rial in the explosion, and the ruin that it brought down hurtling over them.

It is worthy of observation that Major Peat refers to the jinjals or wall-guns in his first paragraph: they are very common in India, and could not, I should think, have been new to him. I should not from my experience value them as Major Peat does; but my opinion, as compared with his, is nothing: my remark went no further than to suggest that they ought to have been enumerated and mentioned in the "dispatch."

The place won, the next question became that of prize-money. The grain accumulated by the garrison for the siege, the horses captured, the military stores, &c. sold for nearly two lahks or about 20,000*l.* A sale of the relics of the fight, the horse-trappings and arms of the fallen defenders of Ghizni, realized considerably more than the worth of the articles, from the wish of parties to possess such trophies. A total of 25,000*l.* is supposed to be the probable amount of the booty to be divided.

The day after the fall of Ghizni, the arch-

traitor Haji Khan Kaukur entered our camp. How it fell out that he was allowed to remain in the rear at so critical a moment, I know not; but, had he been served as the sixty-five prisoners had been on the evening of the 22nd, there seems every reason to suppose that Captain Outram, who set the army in motion by procuring at Bhooj and Kurachy the camels requisite for our move from the Hujamry, would have closed the campaign by the capture of Dost Mahomed on his flight from Kaubool to Baumeean.

On the 25th July, says Outram, "the leader of the party which continued firing upon our soldiers on the 23rd instant after the town had surrendered, and who twice renewed hostilities after having actually sued for quarter, was this day shot by order of the Commander-in-chief." On the 16th July, it is said, "a native was shot by the sentence of a drum-head court-martial for wounding and robbing some of the camp followers." It might have been better had a drum-head court-martial preceded the business of the 25th. How any man, having

the power to order a court to sit to try and condemn a person undoubtedly guilty, should prefer ordering putting to death in the exercise of authority, when the delay involves no risk of evil, seems inexplicable; nor should such a power be permitted by the law of any country, much less of a "trial-by-jury" country.

The power to put to death a prisoner in cold blood without any public investigation or trial, supposes the power to destroy any other life whatsoever; and if we take into account the possibilities of insanity on the one hand, and blind obedience on the other, the hazards of the abuse of power are most fearful, and it is high time that such a law should be amended.

The circumstances connected with the capture of the unhappy man who suffered, and whose name was Wulla Mahomed, are most probably correctly stated by Captain Outram; the manner of his death was very affecting. The Commander-in-chief having heard some such charge as Captain Outram has related, probably the same verbatim, sent his Persian interpreter, Major Powell, on the evening

of the 24th, that is to say, twenty-six hours after the capture, to single out the culprit from among the other prisoners. Major Powell called out in a court-yard where the prisoners were, that he required Wulla Mahomed; and he, little dreaming of what was intended for him, sprang up with alacrity, and at once presented himself to Major Powell as one who probably fancied that he was "a man whom the King might delight to honour." He was led forth to camp; and the next morning marched to the rear of the staff lines, and shot by a party of the Bengal 35th regiment of Native Infantry.

Much public discussion has been excited by this tragical occurrence. As to the guilt of the sufferer, I should hope it was so established, that, in a civilized country and among educated men, the sentence of death would follow of strict necessity: but, among such people as those with whom we were in collision, the turpitude and heinousness of guilt are to be weighed by other shades of criminality than those which operate in European

warfare; and a high-toned generosity and clemency would have been the most honourable assumption of national and religious superiority.

On the 26th I visited the celebrated tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni, in a small village three miles east from the fort. It is a spot held sacred throughout the country, and is rich in historical association. A powerful stream of water, brought from the hills by an aqueduct, gushes out of the ground near the outer gate; and rolls, a lively, sparkling rivulet, through the valley, over a gravelly bed: and even now, the end of July, the most sultry week in summer drought, it distributed an abundant supply for an extensive garden and orchard cultivation. Several court-yards and covered passages require to be passed to reach the tomb: they are of the humblest pretension; the former small, the latter mud walls, with mud arched roofs of the meanest character.

In the second of these areas, a small garden, most probably the favourite resort of the monarch in his decaying age, were many relics

of Mahomed of Ghizni's invasion of Guzerat. The marble reservoirs of the watercourses were Hindoo, and designed in a fine taste; and, though the grotesque animals of the ancient Jain sculpture debased the classic elegance of the general outline or style, they fixed indisputably the religion and country of the artists. Precisely similar sculptures are to be found everywhere among the ruins of Chandrawutty, near Aboo; and it is more probable that these are the relics of that capital than of the temple of Somnath, that site being four hundred miles nearer to Ghizni.

The tomb itself is an oblong chamber, thirty-six feet by eighteen, and about thirty feet high, with a mud cupola: a more humble building over a monarch, and one so renowned, cannot be imagined. The grave-stone is of a very pure marble, originally most exquisitely polished, and, probably by being handled through eight hundred years by devotees, has assumed the appearance of being varnished: it is not larger than the most common tomb-stone, seven feet by four, and thirty inches

high; wrought over everywhere with Arabic inscriptions, and having a silk canopy stretched over it, with ostrich eggs and peacock feathers, abundantly numerous, hanging round the apartment.

The celebrated doors are said to be the sandal-wood gates of the old temple of Somnath. I examined them very carefully. I should not consider sandal-wood a very durable article, and eight hundred years is a Methuselah period of sublime longevity: no perfume whatever remained, but the colour and texture of the wood do certainly resemble those of sandal-wood, and of no other wood that I know except box-wood, which does not, I believe, exist in this country.

No Hindoo symbol of any kind, that I could recognise, existed. The ornament is a panelling in small compartments, each containing a star of six points, such as is formed of two interlaced triangles, which is used in free-masonry as the badge and jewel of the royal arch. This was wrought in a well-relieved fretwork of the most chaste and florid arabesque,

surrounded by borders of running patterned arabesques, that had no Arabic inscription, and consequently may be Hindoo.

The traditions of the country are good authority; and the Hindoo sovereign of the Punjaub, by soliciting that these gates should be restored to India and Hindooism, confirmed that authority; but, without having seen the marbles in the court-yard, I should have doubted it: though, with those proofs that numerous cumbersome relics of Guzerat have been certainly brought hither, it is nothing incredible that these beautifully sculptured, and at that period highly perfumed and costly doors, should have been conveyed also. I have mislaid my memorandum of measurement; but they were folding-doors, to the best of my recollection about eighteen feet high and five feet broad each, and about three inches thick.

It was with no ordinary feelings that I stood at Ghizni by the tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni; my long residence in Guzerat, and intimate familiarity with its people, its histories, and its traditions, had made this de-

stroyer's name a sort of household word in my memory: and when the attendant priest of the tomb showed me, by his grave, the monarch's standard of green silk, and his ponderous mace, preserved through all the fortunes of thirty generations, my thoughts were unequal to realize the present, and the catastrophes of to-day, compared with the legends of eight hundred years, and the direful history of this man's doings.

A wilderness of gardens and orchards surrounds the village and the tomb; and, like Napoleon under his willow, this man of blood sleeps in peace in a sweet spot of great rural beauty. His fearful ravages are consecrated by bigotry as holy wars against infidels; and miracles are attributed to his grave, the very dust of which is swallowed by pilgrims from remote districts of Khorasaun. An excavation appears at the head of the tomb, whence a daily supply of fresh mould is dug up for the consumption of the faithful.

A vast extent of mounds, the relics of mud walls and ancient habitations, indicate the

site, and justify the traditions of the population and area of the old city of Ghizni in past ages. History states that this city has been twice buried in snow, to such a degree and for such a period that a large portion of its population perished: can this possibly be true? and is there any similar legend of the overthrow of any Scandinavian or Hyperborean capital?

At present, the city of Ghizni cannot contain a thousand houses, nor so many as five thousand inhabitants; but there are fine flourishing villages everywhere adjacent within a few miles on each side, and the valley is abundantly watered and richly cultivated.

Messengers arrived from Kaubool on the 28th. The news of the fate of Ghizni reached Dost Mahomed in about twenty-four hours, a distance of ninety miles; and he immediately dispatched his brother, the personal friend of Sir Alexander Burnes, and a man remarkable for a high tone of honourable character, philosophic simplicity, and love of the literature and religion of his people. He had al-

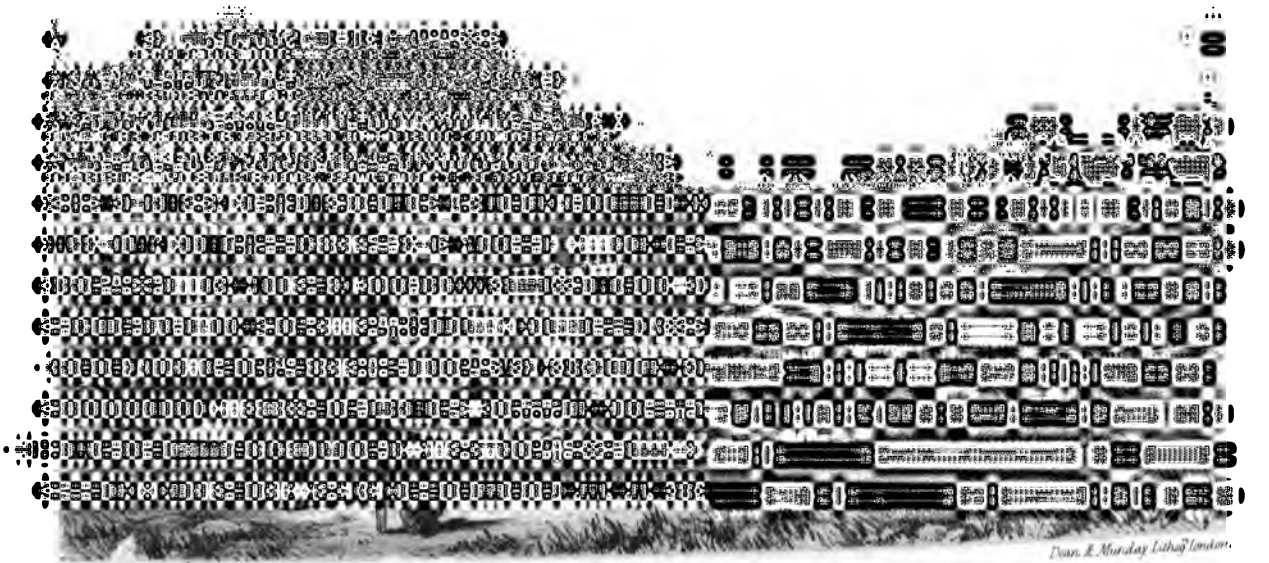
ways been the admirer of everything English, and the friend of every English gentleman. The old man rode the distance, almost without a halt, in forty-eight hours; and, arriving in our camp, was met by Sir Alexander Burnes at some distance from the lines, and conducted to head-quarters.

Sir Alexander Burnes had first visited Kaubool, on his way to Khorassaun, as an indigent traveller, using only his searching eyes and retentive memory; on his second visit he had appeared in a better position, as the representative of Government, and surrounded by the aids and instruments of diplomacy; and thus having travelled the length and breadth of the land, and resided in the heart of it, he had brought away that rich harvest of treasured observations which have made him the oracle to be consulted in every step of this campaign.

On these occasions the Nuwaub Jubul Khan, brother of Dost Mahomed, had patronized and assisted the indigent English traveller in the first visit; and in the second was delighted

to find him grateful for past favours; he knew how to appreciate the enlightened and cultivated mind of the British agent, and courted his society: they were attached friends, and their meeting was painful to both. The Asiatic prince maintained the sober dignity of his race, and betrayed only by a few involuntary tears the deep intensity of his feelings.

"The King," says Outram, "received him with much condescension:" truly it was very good in him to do so! The time is not arrived, nor am I in a position to discuss the wisdom of the policy that put him in the way of exhibiting such courtesy and humility: the day of reckoning is not come; but it will come, and bring a train of results at which the ear of him that heareth may tingle for the remainder of his life.



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CITADEL of BALA HISAR & TOWN of KAUBOOL

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## CHAPTER IV.

Order of march. — Altitude of our elevation. — Strong mountain defile. — Rumour of an attack. — Flight of Dost Mahomed. — Singular approach to Shekabad. — Cheap supply of fruit. — Accident from gunpowder. — Detachment sent to Kaubool. — Description of the intended field of battle. — The Hindoo Kosh. — Abundance of excellent fruit. — Cheapening a melon. — Laughable robbery. — General Hackwell. — Grateful conduct of the Shah. — His entry into Kaubool. — Disorderly Native salute.

On the 30th July the Commander-in-chief and Sir Alexander Burnes marched with the leading column; and the Shah with Mr. M'Naughton, escorted by General Willshire's division, the following day. We were then at the supposed highest point of the inhabited region of the district: water boiled at 196° of Fahrenheit, indicating by a rude guess something exceeding eight thousand feet elevation; the maximum of the thermometer was 83° in a

tent, minimum 42°. At about five miles beyond Ghizni was a strong mountain defile that in past ages had been fortified: there was a guard-house in ruins at each end, and round towers on every commanding eminence. If the pass cannot be turned, it would have been a strong position to have defended, and a sharp skirmish would be requisite to dislodge an enemy; who might inflict much injury without suffering any, provided he retired prudently, and neither too soon nor too late. We descended from the ridge into the plain of the Kaubool river, and halted at Shoojan: fine villages studded the valley, forage was abundant, and the villagers crowded our camp bazaar to sell their rude felt carpets and coarse products of home-spun industry. On the next morning's march we were gratified by the sight of fine bean-fields in flower: I had not looked on the blossomed bean-field since the summer of 1810, in "the fair and pleasant dale of Clyde," and twenty-nine years of absence seemed but a span in my memory, and a blank in my existence; and as I once more inhaled the fragrance, that

seemed loaded with a thousand sweetnesses of perfume, and a thousand recollections of unforgotten enjoyments, the springiness of youth seemed revived for a moment in those delicious associations.

We had warlike reports, and even a threatened attack, at this halt; a troop of our horse artillery was moved from our lines to the Shah's camp, and reconnoitring went on through the day. From an eminence near the camp the tents of the leading division were distinctly seen; and such was the clearness of atmosphere at this season, and at this elevation, that the actual distance, though exceeding eleven miles, was not considered to be six; this fancied short march made by the advance was supposed to be owing to the approach of the enemy, and we expected ere we slept to receive the order to close up and join head-quarters as before Ghizni.

On the following day, the 3rd, the advanced column halted for us to join head-quarters. Dost Mahomed had brought forth his guns, and arrayed such of his followers as remained

with him at Urgunda, some twenty-five miles in front, and the army was to reunite: but on our arrival at Shekabad the official notification reached us that all Dost Mahomed's followers had deserted him, and, his means of resistance being now bribed out of his hands, he had no option but flight; thereupon abandoning his guns, he had taken his way towards Bokhara, and left his capital to the Shah and the Envoy and Minister. A detachment of cavalry and horse artillery was instantly dispatched to Urgunda to secure the guns; and a party of Affghans, with "one hundred of our cavalry, regular and irregular," were sent off under Captain Outram to endeavour to intercept the retreat of the flying "ex-ruler." It was stated in camp, and I believe it to be true, that Mr. M'Naughton not only urged and entreated Sir John Keane to increase the handful of British troops allowed to Captain Outram, but condescended to solicit the assistance of Captain Craigie, Deputy Adjutant General, and his influence with the chief; but without success. The result was that the Aff-

ghans were traitors, and allowed the escape of Dost Mahomed, who would in all human probability have been captured, had Captain Outram possessed the means of assaulting him when overtaken. Captain Outram has published the history of his adventures on this chase, and from his simple narrative it is sufficiently clear that a sad sacrifice of the public interest was made. Those who write the military history of the campaign will probably explain under what impression this grievous error was committed.

The approach to Shekabad was very singular. The river, a bold deep stream, running clear as crystal over a pebbly channel betwixt gravelly banks, irrigates a small valley, which for three or four miles was green as an emerald with rice-fields : the river entered the valley through a fissure in the mountains, a ravine that seemed opened by nature to admit it ; and went out by another, equally abrupt, on the opposite side. A rustic bridge of the rudest construction, on piles, admitted the infantry and cavalry to pass ; the guns were dragged through

the river: its appearance was most picturesque. It was at this place that a trooper of the Bengal Cavalry lost his life, under circumstances which have been made the subject of correspondence in the Bengal papers. From what I heard, I thought that the Bengal officers were too much incensed at the occurrence to have let the matter drop so quietly as they appear to have done. The statements published in the Bengal papers were either true or false: if true, somebody deserved punishment; if false, the libel should have been proved and punished.

The next stage was to be a long one. We moved at three in the morning, and marched upwards of eighteen miles. A sudden turn in the road led us over the crest of a ridgy hill; and the descent thence was into a small valley surrounded by hills, with a wholesome, clear rivulet running across it: on the side of the stream were drawn up some fruit-sellers from Kaubool, with their asses laden with apples. For five pise, my horsekeeper's whole treasury,—that is, one-twelfth of a Bombay rupee, 1*s.* 10*d.*—I received twenty-five fine large, juicy, rosy-

cheeked, high-flavoured apples! and having invited the poor fellow who had lent his purse to share the gift of Providence, we breakfasted on as delicious a treat of fragrant fruit as I ever enjoyed in my life. My "small but faithful steed," whose size and fidelity probably exceeded the merit of Sir Robert Peel's Glasgow galloway that carried him through the Highlands, the Bolan Pass being worse than anything I ever saw even in that country,—my faithful steed ate apples too, and was satisfied that the fruit was good for food, and pleasant to the palate as well as to the eye. One Christian, one Hindoo, and one horse finished the twenty-five large apples in an inconceivably short space of time, and proceeded on their way rejoicing.

I had hardly reached the ground ere I received orders to send off a surgeon forthwith. Dost Mahomed's artillerymen, ere abandoning their guns, had opened out the tumbrels; and either wilfully and of malice aforethought had scattered the powder about, or wasted some in stealing the rest. The poor fellows sent to

take possession of the guns, not suspecting any intended or accidental danger, were carelessly working in the midst of it until it exploded, no one knew how: four or five men were very seriously burnt, but happily no life was lost.

Pears, peaches, and cherries were sold this day in the bazaar. All was now peace, the campaign was evidently closed, Dost Mahomed was beyond question fled, and all Kaubool was hastening out to submit to the new order of things, and to make the most that could be made of the restoration! The detachment that had been sent to secure the guns was ordered forward to Kaubool to occupy the citadel, and prevent any breach of the peace or collision between any rival factions in the city.

The following morning, the 5th of August, on our march we crossed the field which had been selected by Dost Mahomed to have given us battle, had not the British treasury bought off his venal, and the British bayonet frightened away his cautious and self-seeking, adherents. Man that is born of a woman loves a full purse

and length of days, and whoso can offer him such an inducement may venture boldly in reliance on his fidelity. The ground was not badly chosen for an Asiatic's notion of a fight: a narrow plain, not a mile and a half across, with hills of no great elevation, and by no means of difficult access for infantry on each flank; and a ravine, the bed of a watercourse, running diagonally across his front. Twenty-eight excellent brass guns, field-pieces, six-pounders, were drawn up in formidable array across the plain, and were intended to cover the front of the line.

Such a disposition would have been carried in less time than Ghizni: our light infantry would have been seen upon the hills; and our main column, protected by the ravine, would have glided, probably unperceived, into the very heart of the enemy's position.

It was a spot where a small well-disciplined corps might have beaten off a very vast superior force of irregulars; but the last place where superior numbers and Affghan horse should have dreamt of receiving the British column.

This day, from our encampment at Uzeez Umut, we first saw the Hindoo Kosh. The Greek Caucasus seems only the Persian Koi Kosh, — a simple and clear derivation, and showing that the Greeks did not invent and apply names, but preserved those of the countries they visited. The view of these hills, as white as burnished silver with their eternal snows, was sublimely magnificent to one who like myself had never seen the Alps or the Himalaya. I had imagined a duller colour, and had not conceived so stupendous an elevation; and yet a small grain of sand on a twenty-inch globe disturbs its surface with a greater inequality than these projected ribs of the solid globe affect the outer husk of this whirligig world of ours with its nine thousand and odd miles' diameter. "What is man that Thou shouldst magnify him, and that Thou shouldst set thine heart upon him: that Thou shouldst visit him every morning, and try him every moment!"

Our camp was deluged with fruit: our friend Sir Alexander Burnes sent two asses

laden with all the wild profusion of the thousand gardens of Kaubool to the staff mess tent, and a huge block of clear bright ice as hard as flint and brilliant as diamond; peaches ten inches in circumference and weighing nine ounces, apricots, plums, apples, pears, and cherries,—the latter Scotch geens, very black and very sour, and not at all to be applauded. Sultan Bauber says he introduced them at Kaubool; it was a mistake not to have selected a better variety.

But who can describe the vineyards and grapes of Kaubool, from the incomparably delicious, the small, stoneless, pale, salmon-coloured kismis, which is dried for the Sultana raisin, to the large, plump, fleshy, plum-like, dark-purple grape, the giant of its race, an inch and a half in length, and which is really too much for one mouthful! I had no conception of the fruit of such a size. The melons of Kaubool are not degenerate from the days of the Sultan Bauber: every variety and every size, of the most exquisite perfume and flavour, were sold at little more than a penny each for

the best and largest. "In the name of the prophet figs!" has become an English jest; but "in the name of the prophet melons!" is nothing *outré* in Kaubool. I saw some of our Mahomedan troops of the Bengal cavalry stopping at a fruit-shop; and, curious to ascertain the prices they would be required to pay as contrasted with our own payments, I listened to the bazaar discussion. "In the name of the holiest and most blessed Prophet!" said the melon-seller, "no fruiterer in Kaubool can sell you a better melon for less than three pise."—"You say so, do you?" said the trooper. —"I do!" replied the man of melons, stroking his beard, and turning up his eyes heavenward. —"You do?" said again the trooper, handling and feeling the fruit with a look so demure that I thought he was coming Sam Weller over his friend.—"I do!" was the reply.— "Now, do you mean to say," rejoined the trooper, "in the name of the holy and blessed Prophet, who ascended to the seventh heaven on the back of Borauk, that you, as one of the faithful, sell your melons at three pise each to

the exalted and immaculate believers of this great and glorious city of Kaubool?"—"I do!" said the rejoicer in the melon pattern, with another manipulation of his beard, and another meek glance upwards.—"May God give us no worse melons in heaven!" said the trooper, and paid his three pise; and shouldered a melon as big as his head with his shako on it!

On arriving at Oosa, our first encampment at Kaubool, we were greeted by Colonel Campbell, our Quarter-master General, in a most extraordinary garb,—a red nightcap, and his military cloak very tightly pulled about him, but still unable to conceal that he was for the time being a sans-culotte. He had ridden in advance over-night to choose the ground, and mark out the camp with some additional care. When half asleep, he was disturbed by some noise in his tent; and, turning round, had the gratification to see that he had just awoke in time to save his sword, which was hanging to the tent-pole, and that he was thus only relieved of the burthen of carrying his clothes! His nightcap was on his head,

and his military cloak was happily wrapt round him for a blanket; so that he had something of a costume in which to perform his morning duties: but let the reader imagine one of the best-looking and best-dressed staff-officers in the army disguised in such a plight! Luckily, he enjoyed the jest as much as his neighbours; and this fair warning of the kind intentions of our Kaubool friends was well bestowed, and Colonel Campbell's loss was more vexatious for the attendant circumstances than the amount of the damage.

I rode this morning in company with General Hackwell, the commandant of the cavalry; he left an arm at Waterloo, and looks the *vieux sabreur* the better for the lack of the limb. On our homage-paying affair at Kandahar, Shah Soojah had remarked upon it; and said, either by previous instruction, or of his own royal conception, that the empty sleeve was the decoration and the pledge of bravery!

I am not one of the admirers of Shah Soojah; so that in justice to this illustrious character, and to enrich my page with a name so dear

to every member of the Honourable Company's service under the Bombay Presidency as "the revered and honoured name" of Mountstuart Elphinstone, I will take this opportunity of reverting to that said "homage-payment," to mention, that Captain Keith Erskine being introduced as the nephew of Mr. Elphinstone, the King forgot the Asiatic etiquette of royal sobriety of demeanour, to launch forth in praise of the first Englishman he had ever met. His eyes brightened, and his countenance was lighted up, as he begged it to be intimated to Mr. Elphinstone, that if there were anything in his power by which he could show his personal regard, or any service he could render his nephew, it would gratify him exceedingly. Captain Erskine declined the honour of an appointment in the Shah's cavalry; but this proper and becoming speech, and which was more honourable to Shah Soojah than even to Mr. Elphinstone, should have been remembered by Sir John Keane and Mr. M'Naughton when they were conferring in the King's name what they have been pleased to designate "the

order of the Douranee empire." I was quite close to the King when he spoke to Captain Erskine on the homage-day, and again on the order of the Douranee empire institution day; and I have no hesitation in asserting my unqualified conviction, that, with the single exception of Sir Alexander Burnes, there was not a person in the army whom Shah Soojah would have been more delighted to gratify than the nephew of Mr. Elphinstone.

On the 7th August, the day after our arrival, the Shah was escorted by all the British authorities, and the chief portion of the officers not on duty, and a squadron of Lancers, to the ruinous palace of his father and grandfather. The procession had been intended to take place at sunrise; but some superstition respecting the auspicious hour induced the King to notify to Sir John Keane, when his Excellency and staff were all drawn up in full-dress order, that he should not be prepared to go until the afternoon.

At three P.M. the cortège was again assembled; and about four o'clock the Shah appeared

on horseback in his royal robes, attended by an ill-dressed rabble of followers, and the procession moved onward to the Balla Hissar, or citadel: a viler road of narrow winding lanes and dirty streets was never travelled. I was not present on the occasion of his Majesty's entering Kandahar, and cannot testify to the accuracy or the reverse of the statement that appeared of the enthusiasm with which his Majesty was received as the son of Timour Shah, and chief of the Baruckzyes! If the Kandaharies cast loaves of bread and flowers before his Majesty, I can honestly say that the Kauboolies did not fling him either a crust or a nosegay, nor shouted a single welcome that reached my hearing: a sullen surly submission to what could not be helped, and an eager determination to make the most that could be made of existing circumstances, and turn them to account, appeared to be the general feeling entertained, without much attempt at disguise, by the good citizens of Kaubool.

A tremendous discharge of camel artillery—jinjals fixed on swivels and mounted on

camels—saluted our entrance into the citadel; and as they were fired at random, in the very midst of the procession, the helter-skelter and confusion of the horses of the staff-officers and the native horsemen was anything but agreeable: most happily, no accident occurred, and we parted with the King at his palace-door; and, leaving him with Mr. M'Naughton, we retraced our steps to camp.

## CHAPTER V.

Our communication with India restored.—Account of the Emperor Bauber—his Tomb.—Funeral of Col. Arnold.—Reminiscences of him — his light-heartedness — his burial-place.—Remnant of an Armenian colony.—The ten lost Tribes of Israel. — The Four Rivers of Paradise. — The Affghans probably of Jewish origin. — Recreations of the army. — Architecture of Kaubool mean — abundantly supplied with water — its Bazaars. — Ancient Greek relics at Bugrany. — Cashmere shawl-looms. — Hints to merchants on the gold-dust and opium trade. — Murder of Col. Herring.—Capture of the murderers.

We were aware that our halt at Kaubool was to exceed a month, if not more. We were in the most delightful climate that any of us had experienced in our lives, and the wild profusion of the bazaars left us nothing to wish for of country produce. Further, in a few days the communication was open by the Punjaub, and all the vexatious uncertainty of posts ceased: we received letters within a month; and,

after nine months of much that had been most disagreeable, we felt repaid for our labour, and enjoyed rest.

On the 8th August we moved ground, to a plain about six miles south and west of Kaubool; and, on the 12th, his Excellency the chief moved the head-quarter staff lines four miles nearer to Kaubool, pitching himself and the staff of the Bombay division in a ruined and long-neglected garden contiguous to the Sultan Bauber's tomb. Our tents occupied a fine avenue of tall poplars; not the spiral Lombardy poplars of the Italian landscape and a cockney-garden, but a fine, shady, spreading tree, much like a beech, with a smooth, clean rind, and most gracefully spread and pendulous branches. Here we remained until the 22nd, and these ten days were as the green spot in the desert of our lives during this toilsome campaign.

The Emperor Bauber, born in 1482 on the bank of the Caspian, died at Agra in 1530; having reigned thirty-seven years of the forty-eight of his active and merry life. His me-

moirs indicate a singular mixture of the love of philosophy and liquor, and some of the most pleasing traits of a gentle nature turned often awry, but not debased by the possession of despotic power. He ordered that his body should be brought for burial to Kaubool; and a very simple marble grave and headstone, an erect slab like the humblest in shape in a village churchyard, marks where it was laid. I copied the inscription; but it was destroyed, with many others of my memoranda, in the heavy rain my baggage was exposed to in my return through Sind betwixt Tatta and Kurachy. These accidents and adventures of travel are the every-day fate of travelling journalists, and happy is the man who has not his tablets full of them. It was very simple; and briefly, I think, recorded that he had conquered all he met from the Caspian to Bengal, and died, leaving the great Humaieen to inherit his conquests and surpass his virtues.

But man is born to trouble, as the sparks fly upward. Our last day on this ground was saddened by the funeral of Brigadier Arnold,

of the 16th Lancers, who had commanded the Bengal brigade of cavalry.

Colonel Arnold was a very distinguished and popular officer of most prepossessing person and manners, and with all the light-hearted joyousness of youth still untouched by wear and tear, though verging on grey hairs, and developing that commencing rotundity of person which is wont to usher in the sober sadness of the down-hill of life. He was shot through the lungs at Waterloo,—a most unfortunate hit, as it happened: for, whenever it befell that his claret was better than usual, and his liver next day bore witness to the fact, it was of necessity that unlucky Waterloo bullet that was reproached for it; whereas water in no shape was to blame, and he would have fared no worse for Waterloo had he been a tee-totaller, and upheld the song of Pindar, "How great is the praise of water!"

On the 27th May I met Sir Alexander Burnes, with poor Arnold and a merry party, returned from a two days' pic-nic, a few miles out of Kandahar, on the banks of the Urgen-

daub. Burnes had just received, quite accidentally, a fair supply of good things from Bombay; and breakfast saw them produced. I have never seen a breakfast better conducted, nor more justice done to one! We had not, at this time, come to our subsequent Kaubool scarcity and famine prices, when wine sold for two hundred and twelve rupees per dozen, and six bottles of brandy for one hundred rupees, and a thousand cheroots for one thousand and forty rupees! We had still, through Kandahar, the decencies of the dinner-table, even for ordinary persons; but the pop of a champagne cork was a forgotten sound, and the flavour of burgundy remembered only in dreams, when the lips and palate of the dreamer would quiver, and, like these pages, be very dry! When Burnes, therefore, covered his table with all the delicacies of the season, and a score of good things we had not seen for months; when pop went a champagne cork, and bang went another of sparkling burgundy,—poor Arnold's spirits rose to the over-boiling point; and the justice he did to a Per-

sian pilau, and, devoid of partiality, to both liquors, was in proportion to his infectious vivacity, which without any figure of speech set the table in a roar.

I had daily duty on hand, and no leisure for pic-nics, nor did I dare to trust myself long in such company. The pic-nic party remained with Burnes in his "summer chamber," an underground room, where, to keep out the heat, they had a tiffin at two; but, it being the memorable Nuzzurana, or homage-payment day, we met again at sunset in the Shah's garden at the durbar. Poor Arnold! I never saw him afterwards, and shall not easily forget his last words to me, — some amusing reproaches for my having absconded that morning after breakfast. He ended the day as merrily as it began; and I was not startled to hear, a few days afterwards, that Arnold had taken another pic-nic party out to the Urgendaub, and had either burst a blood-vessel on his lungs, or otherwise very grievously injured himself internally, while swimming in the river,—the due changes being rung on the coldness of water,

and the exertion of struggling against the current, &c. It was still the water! In process of time, poor fellow! he died at Kaubool; and the doctor's *post mortem* report announced his lungs healthy and sound, but some fifty mortal murders and half a score of abscesses in his liver! a discovery that would not, I think, have been left for the *post mortem* examination to bring to light, but for that unhappy shot at Waterloo giving colour and ground for eternally considering the poor innocent lungs the peccant part.

No man was ever more deservedly popular in his regiment; he lived only for and with his comrades, as the liveliest of companions and the best dragoon officer in India. We buried him in the Armenian burial-ground; where some Greek crosses on ancient tombs, one of them surmounted, I believe, with a mitre, indicated that the Christian ritual was not new to Kaubool.

The Armenian community, now reduced to half-a-dozen families remarkable only for their Christian privilege of distilling and drinking,

are the relic of a once flourishing colony, brought hither, some centuries ago, to introduce their provincial modification of the arts and military science of Constantinople into the court and camp of Kaubool. They have a church and vestments; but their last priest had died, most probably of delirium tremens, as they offered ours, whom they asked to baptize their children, a huge noggin of Kaubool whiskey for his breakfast, and were surprised at his unclerical refusal to quaff it as a grace-cup after the christening.

Whoever sent the missionary Wolf through Mesopotamia and Persia to discover the traces of the lost ten tribes in Kaubool, had some show of ground to go on. The two tribes who inhabited this country, the Uzarias and the Affghans are so different,—the former with their Calmuc skins, flat round faces, peering eyes, broad eyelids, and depressed snub noses; the latter with the finest Caucasian form of brow and features, and pure complexion,—that, considering the proximity of the Tartar regions, the former may be regarded as abori-

gines; and the Affghans and Ghiljies, with a great probability of accuracy, as a colony from the West.

We have yet to learn where science and civilization commenced,—whether in Mesopotamia, or in India; but we have clear history that the Persian monarchy extended to the Indus. The Hebrew captives would be best disposed of when scattered to the extreme opposite frontier, and their place in Palestine supplied by similarly transported victims of despotism brought from some opposite country.

The prophet Daniel's vision "by the side of the great river, which is Hiddekel," may have been on the bank of the Attock, since it is unquestionably the only great river which goeth towards the east of (or eastward to) Assyria; and, as Daniel was chief of a district, the probabilities are that it would be over his own people, and they on the extreme limit of the empire.

The four rivers of Paradise are not to be sought in summer brooks; nor is the "garden *in* Eden," not *of* Eden, to be supposed a spot

of a few square acres, since man was meant to multiply and replenish. But this is not the place to discuss that question: though it may briefly be said, that the region within the spring-heads of the Oxus, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Euphrates, is the finest climate in the world for the cradle of the infant race; and that modern names, in the fidelity to antiquity of the Asiatic nomenclature, preserve the ancient sounds, and appear, at least to me, to indicate the same waters. But to return to the Affghans; their tall figures, dark black eyes, marked features and western complexion, indicate a race that may, without the least violation of probability, be referred to a Jewish original; excepting that, in such case, what becomes of the miracle that in all other countries appears in unceasing operation, and keeps the Beni Israel a distinct race, unmixed and unmixable with other people, and, generally speaking, a reproach and a by-word among all nations!

On the morning of the 22nd the army moved its camp from the western to the

eastern face of the city; and exhibited, in its new position, a most imposing show of canvass, covering an extent of several miles, the undulations of the irregular ground affording the best advantage for its display. At the base of these hills was a wide extent of level ground which is a marsh in winter, though quite dry at the end of August; but, before we left, the water was spreading over it, and we saw enough to know what it was likely to be. In this plain the amateurs of the turf were able to get up the Kaubool races; sundry matches of cricket were played, and there were some brigade parades.

In the far distance to the northward of the city, the lower levels of this plain are always under water through the driest summer, and form a lake of several miles in length, which increases in winter to a vast sheet of water, the resort of myriads of aquatic birds. This lake, in severe winters, is frozen over; and the last frost appears to have afforded the *détenus* at Kaubool the unusual sport of winter skating whilst on Indian duty and service.

The city and citadel of Kaubool will be drawn by a hundred artists, and described by a hundred scribblers; and I, the humblest of the latter herd, may pass it over as a very mean town compared with our Indian cities. Not a single building, except the bazaar, was worth visiting. The half-finished tomb of Timour Shah, the present King's father, was already a ruin in the decay of the last thirty years of the founder's exile, whose expulsion from Kaubool had left the work barely half completed: some thousands of blue pigeons and large bats had colonized the clefts and inequalities of the cupola and walls, and "no Imaum's voice was heard from mosque or minaret."

The site of the city is picturesque, and like that of the old city of Kandahar, is at the base and in the hollow of a crescent-shaped mountain, the ridges of which are crested with walls and towers of a very humble order of fortification, probably too extensive as well as too poor to be defended; though the precipitous face of the hill would be somewhat difficult to conquer,

if manhood stood sentinel on the summit. There are two openings in this semicircular ridge of hills: one a cleft-like ravine, and through it the Kaubool river runs a very tortuous course into the city; the other is a steep mountain pass, of no great ascent on the one side, or descent on the other: the gorge of the hill has been fortified across, but is of no strength. No city could be more abundantly supplied with sweet clear water; all the handiwork and thought of the early ages of this nation appear to have been devoted to the benevolent and utilitarian purposes of economizing every drop of water, and leading their rivers from their upland well-heads through artificial channels into the lower regions, where they are bestowed upon the well-irrigated fields. Not a rivulet is wasted: from the subterranean Kareiz to the floods of the Urgendaub and Turnuck rivers, mighty and sounding streams in their season, all are under control by judiciously-placed dam-heads, and small canals that wind round the sides

of the mountains, apparently at times some hundred feet above the plains they fertilize.

The bazaars of Kaubool are four buildings, about a hundred yards in length, covered over like the nave of a Portuguese church, and about thirty feet high and under fifty broad: the sides are entirely occupied by shops, and the houses two stories high. They are kept swept and watered, and would have been a cool resort; but such a camp as ours in the vicinity crowded the city to an extent that made it difficult to force our way through the dense mass of the moving throng struggling forward and backward in this Regent's Street of Kaubool. But independent of those buildings, which seem chiefly dedicated to the Russian trade, and where we were shown the goods of Mooskoo and Roos, there were far more extensive covered streets canopied with matting, where the fruiterers exhibited such a display of the bounties of nature as I believe must be unequalled in any part of the globe. No fancy can imagine the piles of the most tempting varieties, beautiful to the eye and

fragrant to the smell; heaps of flowers, and huge blocks of ice to cool the draught, and give a zest to the most delicious fruits, which are here accessible to the poorest of God's creatures, being plentifully poured forth, from an overflowing horn, in the wildest profusion of the most wanton prodigality of nature.

Many thousand Greek relics have been dug up in the ruins of Bugrany, supposed by Burnes to be the Alexandria ad Caucasum, about twenty miles north and east of Kaubool: so singular an abundance indicates a long-continued Greek influence and dynasty; but we are yet ignorant of their history, and the fame of their heroes sleeps with that of "the brave who lived before Agamemnon." But where were the dominions of Antiochus the Greek, named in the Gurneer and Cuttack inscription? Were they Sind and Kutch, or this Bactrian colony?

We visited the Cashmerian looms, worked by fugitives from that valley of shawls; and saw their rude process of the most accomplished handicraft. A Paisley "wabster" would have

looked aghast if required to produce such work with such tools; the task of making bricks without straw would seem a jest to such an operation with such an apology for machinery. I am not possessed of the technicals, and cannot describe the process; but instead of one man, half sitting, half standing, driving the nimble shuttle to and fro through the web, six men were squatted on the ground twisting and twining different-coloured threads on a multiplicity of balls in and out, and creating a pattern of brilliant colours and complicated design, apparently by chance, for it seemed difficult to trace design in the confusion of the operation. The shawls exported from Kaubool to Russia are generally square handkerchiefs of a great thickness and weight, rough and heavy with their rich and ponderous embroideries: the best we saw were priced from a thousand to fifteen hundred rupees each. Legislators are beginning to discover, as something quite new, that trade, to be brisk and profitable, must reciprocate exchanges with rapid returns; and that no country can expect to receive bullion

only from another, except it be from a land of mines! Russia, by taking shawls from Kaubool, involves the necessity of Kaubool importing to the same value from Orenburgh in furs and woollens, &c.

We were up to the middle of September a camp of paupers,—no pay having been issued since June, and only an "indulgence" granted on the 13th of August, amounting to less than three per cent. of the three months' pay due to us: consequently our purchases were most moderate.

I closely examined one pair of shawls purchased for two thousand rupees. I have had great experience in the Cashmeres usually brought to Guzerat through Palli, and am familiar with the material and feel in the hand of those valuable cloths. These were harsh and hard, and the pattern so finished and accurately repeated throughout, that in India I should at once have rejected them as Paisley imitation: the perfection of handicraft had so closely approximated to the productions of machinery, that, whilst it had attained the evenness of sur-

face and continuity of thread, it had lost the downy softness of the less finished Cashmere; and, with the closeness of texture of the engine-finished article, had acquired its hardness and rigidity in the hand.

To one so situated as myself, with no official helps to obtain information, and with abundant occupation from my own departmental duties, there would fall little opportunity to speak of the statistics or markets of Kaubool.

Only two points need be mentioned as worthy of special notice. The book of Genesis describes the river Pison as "it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good:" if we seek the Pison in the Oxus, that river and its tributary streams are not changed, and still yield gold-dust to such an extent that gold is cheaper here than in any other accessible part of the world that we know of; being sold, it is said, at only twelve times its weight of silver in Koolum and Koondooz, or about twenty per cent. below the market price in India and England. This

must eventually change, but in the mean while it is the advantage gained by the Russian traders.

The second I learnt professionally by endeavouring to purchase opium in the bazaar for the hospitals: I found that there was an opium trade in its infancy across the Chinese frontier of Tartary. Both are points that should be attended to, as likely to lead to important results. Tea from China, and white loaf-sugar from Russia, are plentiful in the Kaubool market: the gold of the Oxus procures the one; and opium from Turkey, brought through Russia, is exchanged for the other.

On the 5th September we learnt that Colonel Herring, C. B. in command of a Bengal regiment on its march to Kaubool, had been assailed and murdered by thieves while taking an evening walk at a halt about fifty miles distant on the road from Ghizni. He was a distinguished officer, and had just been selected for the high honour of commanding the Shah's regulars, but perished in this shocking manner

ere he received intelligence of the appointment. His body was brought to Kaubool, and buried by the side of poor Arnold's: the murderers were subsequently captured by Captain Outram, and sent prisoners to Ghizni.

## CHAPTER VI.

Apology for a digression. — Meeting with an old acquaintance. — Great abilities of Mr. Lord. — His Report on Koondooz. — Order for our march. — Wish to remain in Affghanistan. — Frequency of murders. — Institution of "the Order of the Douranee Empire." — Description of the decoration of the Order. — Complaints of disappointed persons. — Dr. Harland the American. — His figure and eccentric dress. — His defection from the service of Dost Mahomed. — Through his courage and conduct the Affghans defeated the Seiks, in 1837. — His title to consideration at the hands of the British Government.

A tangled tissue of many-coloured threads is this narrative! I was told at Kaubool that Mr. A B C had written one book in the style of Polybius, and was employed on a history of the campaign in the style of Thucydides; and I was asked what vein I ambitioned, for from the landing at the Hujamry I have been

a marked man as one "taking notes." I replied that I should be but too happy if I could hit off a book that should be equally amusing, and as frequently quoted, as the immortal work of Mr. Joseph Miller! I was glad to find from a book of epitaphs, which I purchased at an auction at the Cape of Good Hope, that this worthy was really a man of flesh and blood in his day, and not a man of straw, as I had till then held him to be. Therefore, as he is an "English classic, good in law," and has established his style, I trust that the gentle reader will allow me to digress hither and thither, after his fashion, and be anecdotic or gossiping as the humour leads: I need not assure him that — Heaven mend my faults! — I am neither Polybius nor Thucydides.

On the 26th August I spent the day with Burnes, to meet my old friend Percival Lord, who had arrived that morning from the Khyber Pass, where Colonel Wade had been covering himself with glory in forcing that wilderness of defiles, described as more horribly inaccessible, by far, than the Bolan, and in bringing

up the Shah's son and part of his contingent from Peshawer.

Our long delay at Kandahar, and the death of Runjit Sing, had involved Colonel Wade in a most distressing dilemma of a thousand difficulties, from which it had required all his tact and patience and management to extricate himself with safety. Fortune finally favoured him, and he arrived, after a course of courageous opposition and brilliant success, at Kaubool.

My acquaintance with Lord, as well as with Burnes, had begun under different circumstances of comparative position; but we were warm friends, and had always maintained a correspondence which had afforded me an abundant delight. Outram joined us at dinner, and none of us are likely to forget that evening; it was passing strange that we four should meet in Kaubool.

Lord Auckland has had the good fortune to meet such men as Burnes, Lord, and Outram; and has the good sense to appreciate their merits. Time and the hour will do Burnes justice. Lord is on the direct road to distinction, whither the highest order of intellect and

the most accomplished mind must lead him onward, and establish for him a distinguished reputation. Outram has proved that mind and energy are not to be trampled under foot: his course seems now to be smooth before him, if his health should be spared in the deadly region of the valley of the Indûs, and at the capital of Sind, to which he is appointed Resident.

Outram left Kaubool on the 7th of September, on a special duty, with a force of the Affghan troops and a detachment from the Bengal division under his orders: he has published his narrative, and I shall leave him until he rejoined the camp of the Bombay division on the 9th of October on our march to Quetta.

Lord was selected for the important duties of an embassy to Koondooz and Bokhari to secure our political influence, and to avert any evil that might be threatened from that direction through the intrigues of Dost Mahomed's emissaries, and to meet the contingencies of the last struggles of his despair. A more highly qualified agent was never employed, either as respects general talent, or local knowledge, and

peculiar fitness for the peculiar work; and that, too, one of the most delicate and difficult errands on which he could employ his talent: cool and far-sighted, with judgment to decide, yet energy to act when occasion called for it.

The winter snows fell earlier than usual, and he was unable to proceed beyond Baumeean, where I must leave him. His commentaries will some future day come forth to delight and enlighten the world; and in the mean while his report on Koondooz, compiled when he was a subordinate assistant to Burnes, will furnish the only philosophical and readable fragment that has yet been given to the public respecting that country and its vicinity.

It had been announced on the 23rd of August that a portion of the Bengal army would remain in Kaubool under the command of Brigadier Sale, and that the Bombay column would soon commence its march homewards; but the move was delayed, and we were becoming painfully nervous as to what we were likely to suffer should the snows fall on the Toba mountain. No one could conjecture the

reason for the delay; though the general belief was, that the goldsmiths of Kaubool, who were preparing the decoration of "the order of the Douranee empire" for the Chief, were the real cause of our detention.

Finally, on the 12th of September the order for our departure on the 16th was announced, and great was our satisfaction thereat. On the 9th of September we had a keen bleak wind, and a little rain in the evening; and the following morning the hills which surround the valley of Kaubool at about five miles' distance, and one thousand five hundred feet elevation, were white with snow: we knew that we had higher and worse ranges to climb and cross, and that our camels and Indian servants were likely to suffer cruelly. Many a bitter curse did we give to "the order of the Douranee empire."

On the morning of the 16th we moved from the eastern to the western face of the city, as breaking ground for our homeward march. As I passed through Kaubool, I breakfasted with Burnes to say farewell. If I could have stayed on duty without pecuniary loss, I would gladly

have cast my lot for the remainder of my time in the lap of Affghanistan; but such could not be, and I said adieu to my valued friend with every feeling of the most warm regard. On reaching our camp, I saw the soldiers of her Majesty's 17th regiment digging a grave for one of their comrades whom they had found murdered on the road: the frequency of the occurrence was very distressing.

On the 17th we halted for the august ceremony of the institution of "the order of the Douranee empire." It was at first intended to have been the Douree Douranee, and the knights were to have written themselves D.D.; but some wicked wag announced it to mean the dog and duck! which was so ludicrously appropriate that the petty districts of Shah Soojah were declared an empire, and, instead of the dog and duck, it became the order of the Douranee empire.

On the afternoon of the 17th we had a hot ride of five miles to the citadel, where we met nearly all the officers of the army; and, after waiting upwards of an hour on horseback, we were informed that Mr. M'Naughten and his

Majesty were ready. This, it has been said, was the only occasion upon which Sir W. Cotton was ever seen without a star; and he explained it, by saying that it was court etiquette to appear unadorned with any earlier bestowed decoration when about to receive a new order from the hands of royalty! Sir Willoughby being a good authority on these points, so valuable a piece of information deserves to be recorded; especially as Sir John Keane did not appear to be up to it, and was as well starred on this as on other occasions.

On the announcement that the ceremonial was to begin, I expected the thunder of artillery, the clamour of trumpets, and the sweet sound of some regimental band to commence the play, and all the pomp, pride, and circumstance of the chivalry of glorious war that Sir John Keane could have brought out for the occasion. But so far from it, even the "princes, and potentates, and peers" of the Affghan nation were, thank Heaven! all absent to a man; and the matter passed off with less real ceremony, and took less time, than I was prepared to imagine.

In a court-yard of about a hundred yards square, a ruinous and neglected garden, and surrounded by ruinous buildings of the old palace, in which a dozen or two of bricklayers and plasterers were at work repairing the dilapidation and neglect of the past thirty years, and who never stopped their work to look at us, sat the old King alone in his glory; his throne being one of our old camp-chairs, value, when new, some four or five rupees at the utmost; behind it stood two old fat eunuchs, each holding a dish in his hand: and up to this extraordinary dumb show we marched, and were all ranged behind and on the right of the camp-chair with the King in it.

When all was ready,—and it took less time than I could have supposed,—Sir John Keane stepped before the said camp-chair with the King in it, and gravely dropped on his knees before the Douranee Emperor. One of the fat eunuchs waddled to the front, and uncovered his dish, in which was the decoration and ribbon of "the order of the Douranee empire." The Emperor with great difficulty stuck

it on; and, Sir John's coat being rather too tight, it cost him some effort to wriggle into the ribbon: but the acorn in time becomes an oak, and Sir John was at last adorned, cap-a-pie, a Knight Grand Cross of the Douranee empire!

The decoration required eloquence; and Sir John, standing before the Emperor, delivered himself of a speech, in which there was a great deal about "hurling a usurper from the throne," — at which my uncle Toby might perhaps have whistled his lillibullero.

But as the Emperor of the Douranee empire did not understand English, the Chief's Persian interpreter, Major Powell, stepped to the front to interpret. Poor man! he was "not accustomed to speak in public," and made but a bad job of it; and the Emperor, who seemed to wish the whole affair over, broke into the midst of the interpretation with his own observations complimentary to the British General, the British army, and the British Government. Burnes, for some reason best known to himself, wished the whole interpretation to

be fairly and fully driven into and through the imperial ears, and whispered "Deegurust," "There is more of it;" which silenced the Emperor, and Major Powell went on: but, making a pause to take breath, his Imperial Majesty began again, and was again silenced: a third pause, and again his Imperial Majesty commenced; and by that time Burnes seemed tired too, and the Emperor had it all his own way, and all the talk to himself for the rest of the ceremonial. Mr. M'Naughten and Sir W. Cotton were next invested; and Sir A. Burnes and Sir Martin Wade were told that they were created Knights Grand Crosses too, but that the goldsmith had not been able to make the decorations in time for them, but they might rely on receiving them in as short a time as he could compass it. Lord Auckland was declared a Knight Grand Cross also; how Colonel Pottinger escaped, can be only explained by the wonderful good fortune that has attended that gentleman through life.

The Grand Crosses being created, the Knights Commanders and Companions were

to be invested, but the decorations had not been made; and it was clear that if there was to be a kneeling and a tow-tow for each, there would be no end of it: so an officer in a Bengal Cavalry uniform, holding a paper in his hand, shouted out the names of the "men whom the King delighted to honour;" and we, the *oi polloi*, being all drawn up on the right of the King, the parties so named stepped forth in succession, and, crossing in front, bowed to the King, and ranged upon the left. The officer, who thus enacted the Grand Mareschal of the palace, read with a clear good voice, and deserved to have been a Grand Cross himself, if his taste lay that way, for the fine feeling he showed when, in reading the original list, he paused on the names of Brigadier Arnold and Colonel Herring, and, reading them with a subdued tone, added "deceased," and passed on to the next in order. This honourable tribute to the dead was the only incident in the whole affair that seemed worth recording for anything but its extreme absurdity.

The decoration of the order is a Maltese

cross, a bad imitation of the Guelphic order of Hanover; and it was the more absurd to give a Christian's most sacred religious badge as an honour supposed to be conferred by the most bigoted petty Mahomedan Government in the world; because the arabesque star of six points, which forms the ornament of the historic gates of the tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni, would have been so peculiar and appropriate an emblem of a Douranee institution. The ribbon, "party per pale vert and gules," is in good taste; and, when manufactured in England, will no doubt be very ornamental.

When the list was read out, and all was over, there rose the cry of the disappointed; and I saw Sir John Keane much excited, and apparently in a bewilderment and amaze at the storm that threatened. The rule for the selection had been that the brigadiers and heads of departments were to be Knights Commanders; and all field-officers, and sundry head-quarter favourites, Companions. The claimants who now started forth were the field-officers by brevet: there were only four or five; and

these of course, from the simple fact of their brevet, were the oldest officers of their class, and much senior to many who were preferred before them. One of them had served nearly forty years in India, and was old enough to have been the father of half the new-made knights: he is said to be writing a history of the campaign, and will no doubt make known his grievance. No satisfactory reason was assigned for their being omitted; had they been too numerous, it would have been otherwise, but they were not so.

There was at this time in Kaubool a certain "free and enlightened citizen of the greatest and most glorious country in the world," an American Doctor Harland, who, through various vicissitudes of fortune, had left a ship that had carried a cargo of notions, to what in Indian phraseology is called the eastward, that is, the Malacca Straits and China Seas; and had joined, in some subordinate capacity, the British army in the Burmese war. I cannot trace him thence through the native services to Lucknow, and the Punjaub, and Kau-

bool, where he was a brigadier, I believe, in Dost Mahomed's army, and which he quitted to join us. I met him one morning at Sir Alexander Burnes's, and was astonished to find a wonderful degree of local knowledge and great shrewdness in a tall, manly figure, with a large head and gaunt face over it, dressed in a light, shining, pea-green satin jacket, morone-coloured silk small-clothes, buff boots, a silver-lace girdle fastened with a large, square buckle bigger than a soldier's breast-plate, and on his head a white cat-skin foraging-cap with a glittering gold band and tassels; precisely the figure that, in my boyhood, would have been the pride and glory of a Tyrolese Pandean-pipes band at Vauxhall.

This gentleman was no fool, though he dressed like a mountebank; and it will not be creditable to our Government if he be not provided for: there was no law that could have made it penal for him to have served Dost Mahomed against us, and the President and Congress would have required an answer at our hands, had we made it so. Consequently, as Doctor

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## CHAPTER VII.

Homeward march.—Arrival at Ghizni.—Vanity of human grandeur.—Setting-in of winter.—Summerset of our Chaplain into the Ghizni river.—Remains of two men missed at the time of our advance.—The Aubistad Lake.—Attempts to steal our camels.—Punishment of the culprits.—Intensity of mental as compared with bodily agony.—Severity of the weather.—Mortality among the camels.—Death of Major Keith.—Foraging parties fired on.—Receipt of letters and supplies.—Losses of individuals in camels, etc.—Temperature on the mountains.

It was a strange feeling, in retracing our steps, to compare the numerous recollections of our journey in the advance, with its doubts, its uncertainties, and the thousand wild rumours that were every day afloat, in contrast to the solution of all difficulties, and the termination of all dangers, on the homeward march of the army.

September 26th saw us again at Ghizni. My last visit at Kaubool had been to the hum-

ble grave of the Sultaun Bauber; my last at Ghizni was to the tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni. Such pilgrimages are not mere idle curiosity; they enrich the mind with much right thinking, which it is good should be thought, and leaves good behind it if remembered. The changing cloud, the floating shadow, the bubble on the water, seem but natural and impressive emblems of man's never continuing in one stay; but the silent grave of the mighty dead reads a deeper lesson still,—the nothingness of power, and the follies of ambition. "Vanity of vanities," saith the preacher, "all is vanity!" repeated I to myself as I wondered what had become of the Sultaun's chief of the medical department.

On the 29th September we left Ghizni, and commenced our toilsome and hazardous journey across the Toba mountains to Quetta. The circuitous route by Kandahar had been travelled over on our advance, and the road had been improved and made practicable for artillery; but all the forage had been totally consumed, and we had heard of comparatively small par-

ties suffering exceedingly on that road since we had travelled it: consequently it was not altogether the abomination, eschewed by all thinking travellers, of taking "the short cut," that led us due south from Ghizni over a country where wheels can never have rolled before since the creation, and where in all human probability they are not likely to roll again, until another British army is required to maintain the friendly power we have placed on our western frontier.

The cold at eight thousand feet elevation, in 34° north, had commenced in earnest on the 29th September; the pools by the roadside were frozen over as we marched out of Ghizni. The thermometer, the preceding day, in my tent, had been maximum 72°, minimum 38°, after a high wind on the day preceding; the winter had evidently commenced, snow might be looked for, and we had no time to lose.

On marching out of Ghizni, our worthy chaplain had a perfect trial of the effect of a plunge into the Ghizni river when below freezing-point

for the standing pools in its vicinity. A rustic foot-path bridge was completed in its centre with a mill-stone, safe enough for a pedestrian to pick his way over, but requiring a very discreet and sure-footed beast in an iron-shod horse to avoid either the slippery slope of the mill-stone, on the one hand, or the hole in its centre: few men would have relished the experiment, and it would have been more comfortable for our friend had he not attempted to "witch" the little world of the advance "with his noble horsemanship." A more direful summerset was never exhibited: the unhappy man plunged headlong into the freezing stream; and partly through the force of the current, or to extricate himself from his floundering horse, rolled over and over with no daintiness of picking his footsteps, till he emerged from his cold-bath, a shivering biped, without a dry thread on him. He was, too, fortunate that we had not advanced beyond Ghizni. He betook himself for shelter to Charles Burnes, a younger brother of Sir Alexander, the best-natured and most obliging creature in the

world, who put him to bed till we could send dry clothes for the re-establishment of his outward man. This done, he rejoined us in the afternoon; having suffered no real injury in acquiring the lesson from experience, that a mill-stone bridge is but perilous footing. The Mahomedans' bridge to Paradise should be to ride our chaplain's charger over a mill-stone!

This event excited a sensation along the whole line. Brigadier Scott, at the head of the cavalry, was informed by a native, as of some disastrous adventure, that the Moollah had been catastrophized in the river; and apprehended that something had befallen him in the shape of a watery adventure, which none but a rising character, whom destiny was ripening for some marked elevation, could possibly have escaped.

It was on a Sunday morning. "Your Moollah did not, I fear, say his prayers before starting this morning," (said Nowroz, the chief of the guides,) "and this must be his punishment for forgetting your sabbath." Of this *laches*

we all acquitted our worthy Moollah; the error he had committed was the ill-judged attempt to ride on a mill-stone.

On the second march, having made two short stages, we halted a little beyond Nany, at the ground we occupied on the night of the 20th July, before our march to Ghizni. Two European soldiers, of her Majesty's 2nd Royals, had been missing that evening, and no trace had been found of them: on arriving here, two skeletons were accidentally stumbled on, to which were still clinging tattered relics distinctly indicating that they were the bones of our men; the marks of violence were too evident. A strange occurrence had taken place: a wild pigeon had built her nest and laid her eggs in the cavity of one of these skeletons; a singular selection for the poor bird to have made, when "the world was all before her where to choose." The relics were carefully collected together; and, being ascertained to be correctly recognised, were decently interred.

Captain Outram has published an outline

of his energetic proceedings in the Ghiljy country. The original chiefs, whom the Shah had found in power, had been slow in acknowledging his authority; and, as his Majesty of the Douranee empire passed through Khelaut-i-Ghiljy, they had been formally deposed, and more obsequious gentry of their blood anointed to reign in their stead.

But we had not only the Shah's offended dignity to assert, but some wrongs of our own to redress. A body of the Bengal followers, amounting, it was said, to nearly five hundred, had left the army at Kandahar, to make their way to Loodiana by Dera Ishmael Khan, and through the Punjaub. Before they had travelled one hundred miles, some disaster befel them at a place called Maroof, which the fugitives who returned described in very piteous terms as the most treacherous and cruel assault and massacre; stating that fully three or four hundred of our people had been destroyed: this was to be inquired into, and the parties to whom the murders could be brought home were to be severely punished.

Outram did all he could to ascertain the facts of the case, and the people concerned; but learnt no more than that the most grossly exaggerated reports had been, as before, received and believed. The fort of Maroof, being abandoned by its inhabitants on the approach of the detachment, was occupied without resistance, blown up, and destroyed. During this period of most fatiguing march, and at a time when every day that was lost increased our danger, we had bitter cause to regret our delay at Kaubool, and the operations against the Ghiljies which the Bombay column was distressed with on its march; having severe detachment duties, and halts in the most savage country in the world.

On the 7th October, at Muzkur Kareig, we saw the celebrated Aubistad Lake. Outram says he "estimated the diameter to be about twelve miles;" we marched fully fifteen miles in length in sight of it, and never saw across it. It looked like an inland sea, and one felt surprised not to see the white sails of commerce or pleasure on its waters: it is fed by the Ghizni river.

On the 8th we crossed a plain fully five miles in breadth, seamed through, everywhere, with deep-furrowed channels and pebbly beds, indicating the outlet of the overflowing of the lake in rainy seasons.

At our halt on the 7th, some light-fingered Ghiljies, attempting to carry off our camels, were seen and pursued by a few troopers of the baggage guard; and, being overtaken by only two or three of our people, attempted resistance, which ended in one of them being severely wounded, and a total of ten, including the wounded man, taken prisoners.

The bazaar was that day pitched near the staff-lines; and the sentence of the law being about to be carried into effect on these marauders, viz. to have their heads and beards shaved, and to receive a hundred lashes, the cloth that bound up the head of the wounded man was removed to shave him, when, to the surprise of the barber, and the Parsee official of the bazaar, a dignitary who moved in state with the staff, and who rejoiced in the *sobriquet* of "Botheration," the culprit's ear and

the fleshy side of his face fell down on his shoulder. I was walking within twenty yards' distance, and was appealed to by Mr. Botheration for assistance; an explanation which I think it necessary to afford, lest the gentle reader, who cannot abhor whippings more than I do, should suppose my taste would draw me *en amateur* to witness flagellations.

The first man that was to be flogged was a tall powerful fellow, who had no doubt stolen and eaten some hundred head of other people's cattle, judging by his bull neck and sleek skin: the rogue had lined his ribs well, and thriven on his profession. We were quite new to their part of the country, and these people quite new to us: their sentence had not been very correctly explained to them, or the first that was to suffer did not believe what was told him.

When tied up according to military etiquette for punishment, his agony of fear exceeded all description. He roared out his prayers to all the patriarchs and all the prophets, and rang the changes on Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Ishmael, and Moses, and Elias, and the Ma-

homedan prophets and saints, with a frightful rapidity of utterance, and a horror-stricken paleness of countenance, and protruded parched tongue that was ghastly beyond all I ever witnessed. When tied up he looked round for the executioner and the sword, which he firmly believed was to sever his head from his body; but when the drummers commenced applying the lash, and he was distinctly assured that a few square inches of skin was all that he had to lose, the change in the animal's countenance and demeanour was antipodical! It was clear that he could stand "a hundred lashes administered in the usual way, on the bare back," without the aid of Moses and the prophets! He grinned grimly enough, but his terrors were at an end; and there was a relighting up of his glazed eye, and a colour returned to his ashy cheek and lips, that made him appear another man. I never saw the fear of death so painfully displayed, and bodily pain so clearly proved to be a minor suffering compared to mental agony.

The wounded man was removed to our near-

est hospital, and had his wound sewed up and dressed, and was left in the village next morning on our march: he seemed made of sterner metal, and bore his cruel hurt without a murmur. The doctor I sent for to dress him was a phrenologist: "Sir," said he, "the sabre has shaved his skull and cut off his bump of combativeness," &c. A happy hit certainly, and a great improvement would it have been on the country generally if we could have cut off all their bumps of thievishness and combativeness!

It was at this place we saw the root growing which is dried for exportation and sold under the name of salop misrig. It is of the size of a small white turnip, and when dried resembles a small light-coloured prune: it boils down to a finer jelly than arrow-root, and is a very valuable light diet for invalids.

On the 18th we had reached the summit of the Toba mountain. The thermometer in my tent was found at 19° at daybreak, hard frost every night, and the cold very painful to bear. Our poor Indian servants and followers suffered

dreadfully from chapt hands and feet, and were, as nearly as possible, disabled: the mortality among our camels was very great, upwards of one thousand five hundred of the public cattle died. When in Kaubool, an attempt had been made to ascertain the number of camels that perished, and the replies to official queries had shown that upwards of sixteen thousand had then died. One caravan alone, which had started from Sukkur on May 16th with four thousand seven hundred camels, had reached Daudur with only one thousand and seventy; exemplifying the danger of setting the season at defiance, and contending against the opposition of nature. Of thirteen Europeans with that caravan seven died; the pecuniary loss to Government was estimated at seven lahks of rupees, a small item no doubt in the campaign, but how much good might have been done in India with the money!

But on the 18th October in the Toba mountains, we were suffering from the intensity of arctic cold, and not from the sun of the torrid zone; and through this inclemency

we lost the only member of the staff-mess who died during the campaign.

Major Keith, Deputy Adjutant-general of the Bombay army, and chief of the staff of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus, had served in India since 1805, and been present with the field divisions of the Bombay army in Arabia, at Beni bo Alli, and through the Dekkan war. He had suffered severely in his health in Sind, and again at Kandahar; but, during our halt at Kaubool, appeared to have perfectly recovered. He was only ill a week, with what was at first considered cold and sore throat; but the exposure to which we were subjected, and to which he exposed himself very incautiously in the performance of his duty, was too great: malignant symptoms appeared on the morning of the 18th, and, within twenty-four hours of the least apprehension being entertained, he was a corpse.

This was very hard, and severely felt by us all. The body was carried to our next encamping ground, Sir-i-Soork-aub, (the head of the red river,) and there we buried him in a

grove of tamarisk, with the deepest regret for our lost friend, and the tenderest sympathy with his bereaved family.

A more rugged or a more desolate region can hardly be imagined than the district through which we toiled our painful way betwixt the 12th and 26th October: range after range of the rudest mountains were to be ascended and descended; and the only road was the pebbly or rocky bed of some mountain torrent traced up to its source, and a similar descent on the opposite side. The Engineer corps was every day in advance to render all the assistance in its power; and it was rightly observed by Major Peat, the chief of that department, that it only required the difficulties to be the fraction of a fraction worse, for the country to be impassable.

The 1st regiment of Bombay Cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, whose promotion to lieutenant-colonel had removed him from being the indefatigable commandant of the Poona Horse to be the now equally indefatigable commandant of the 1st Cavalry, had

left us on the 17th, to try another route, in the hopes of foraging better by dividing into small detachments. We heard of them at Tugruk, on the 22nd. They had fared no better than we had, and were pushing on by a parallel road to ours, to reach the Valley of Peisheen.

On the 25th, at Toba, the principal place in the district, a pitiful hamlet of not a hundred houses, the foraging parties of our advance were fired on; and some preliminaries of reconnoitring the fort, the usual residence of the traitor Hadji Khan Kaukur, and preparations for a regular attack, delayed the line under arms for two hours: but, before any movement was made, the fort was abandoned by its garrison of four or five fighting-men, who took to the hills when they found that their show of resistance did not deter our reconnoitring parties from closely examining the fort.

On this march we saw some fine old trees of the yew kind, covered with small purple berries; the leaf and berry had a strong taste of juniper, but I was overruled when I felt

disposed to pronounce them to be such. Their trunks were venerable knotted timber, and the spread of the branches broad and leafy. In the clefts of the hills, along the watercourses, we saw abundant thickets of wild rose-trees covered with red hips. Southern-wood and hedgehog-plant covered the hills wherever there was a stratum of soil to nourish the plant.

On the 29th, at Hyduzye, we had the great satisfaction of finding ourselves on known ground: supplies of all sorts had been sent out hither to meet us by Captain Bean, the political agent at Quetta, and we felt our severe labours ended.

Forty-five post-office packages were received, and brought up the arrears of our correspondence; and many, who had not tasted wine for months, were now re-supplied.

On the 31st of October we reached Quetta, and were rejoined by Captain Pontardent's company of foot artillery. Our sick report of Saturday, November 3rd, after all these exposures and privations, was one hundred

and twenty-one Europeans, out of a strength of one thousand six hundred and forty-two; and ninety natives, on a total of one thousand three hundred and forty-seven fighting-men.

The loss of camels and baggage-ponies, destroyed by cold, excessive work, and starvation, fell heavily on all whose incomes were not very easy. My own share, when I wound up my account at Sukkur for the whole campaign, was eighteen camels and seven ponies dead or carried off by the enemy; and the total pecuniary loss thereby, and value of property that fell into the hands of the enemy through contingency of fight and no fault of mine, exceeded three thousand rupees.

The grant of six months' batta, bestowed by Lord Auckland's government, will reimburse field-officers the whole, or at least a very large portion of the average wear and tear and increased expenditures of field-service under such circumstances: but I doubt if any subaltern officer has gone through the service without incurring much greater expense, and suffering greater losses, than will be repaid by a lieu-

tenant's six months' batta, or seven hundred and twenty rupees; and for that class at least another gratuity should be bestowed, if not to the whole army.

It is difficult to understand, without having experienced it, the effect of a great elevation on the temperature, even in low latitudes. The Neilgherry hills, in 11° north, enjoy the climate of Devonshire at seven thousand five hundred feet; at nine thousand feet, water boiling at 195°: we had the thermometer fourteen degrees below freezing-point on the 19th October. My friend, Dr. Grant, in a letter dated March 21st, at Baumeean, in 34° north, less than one hundred and fifty miles west of Kaubool, and at about twelve thousand feet elevation, reports mean maximum of thermometer 29°, and mean minimum 12° for last January; mean maximum for February, 29°, mean minimum, 14°; and the country deeply covered with snow at the date of the letter, sufficient to indicate what military operations would be in such a climate, and in the more elevated regions of the passes of the Hindoo Kosh.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Measures taken against Miraub Khan.—Received opinion in the camp with respect to these proceedings.—Letter of Miraub Khan to General Willshire.—Detachment to Khelaut.—Return by the Bolan Pass.—Disgusting spectacle.—Duty of extending civilization.—Increase of the forage on our return.—Captain Hogg's narrow escape from being shot through mistake.—Our want of intelligence.—Fall of Khelaut.—Impolicy of distrusting the native soldiery.—Remarkable instance of Sir David Ochterlony's sagacity.—Practicability of the Gundava Pass.

It has been already stated that Miraub Khan, the Chief of Khelaut, had followed the most unblushing course of treacherous hostility, scarcely veiled by any, even the most flimsy, disguise or attempt at concealment; and yet had scarcely allowed a day to pass without the most abject protestations of slavish submission to Shah Soojah, and the most ardent anxiety to be considered the devoted ally of the British Government.

The contrast of his conduct and correspondence surpassed, in absurdity of uncared-for contradiction to each other, the worst proceedings hitherto experienced even from an Asiatic.

General Willshire had received orders, ere leaving Kaubool, to co-operate with Captain Bean in the final measures now resolved upon to depose Miraub Khan, and to appoint his cousin Chief of Khelaut; and on our arrival at Quetta these measures were at once commenced, and two days' halt sufficed. On the afternoon of the 3rd November, a brigade, consisting of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments and the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, marched towards Khelaut under command of Brigadier Baumgardt.

We were doomed to experience a repetition of the same apparent misconceptions of the real force and intention of the enemy which had misled our leaders at Ghizni, and probably from the same cause,—the encouragement given to the enemy by our own dilatory, and to them inexplicable proceedings,

Had General Nott, who commanded the force which had been stationed at Quetta to keep Miraub Khan in check, been allowed to reduce him by a movement on Khelaut in August, as soon as the fall of Ghizni was heard of, it may be presumed that the achievement would have cost few lives. Miraub Khan was at that time compromised beyond the possibility of reconciliation, and did not commit further hostilities after that date; nor was there, to my knowledge, a single reason for the delay, unless we are to suppose that General Willshire was considered a fitter person than General Nott for the duty to be discharged.

And yet this duty was considered by Captain Bean, the political authority, so trifling, and must have been reported so by him to Lord Auckland and Sir John Keane, that it was generally asserted and believed in camp, that in the apprehension that General Willshire could not arrive before the fall of snow occurring to put a stop to proceedings, he (Captain Bean) had requested General Nott to undertake Khelaut with only one of the

two Bengal Native regiments he had at Quetta, and the Bombay company of artillery; and that the General had at one time resolved to do so, but was subsequently deterred by a point of etiquette, in receiving a copy of the instructions which had been given to General Willshire. These are points in which the received opinion in camp at the time was somewhat different from the subsequent official history of the proceedings; by which I do not mean to impugn such official history, but merely to state what was mentioned and noted.

On General Willshire's arrival at Quetta, he received a letter from Miraub Khan, expressed in the same unblushing style as those he had addressed to the Envoy and Minister; the coarseness of the falsehood being too undisguised to deserve the term of hypocrisy. He avowed himself the faithful servant of Shah Soojah, and the devoted ally of the British Government; entreated the interference of General Willshire, as an officer of high rank, to put a stop to the hostile measures

which Captain Bean was meditating against him; declared most solemnly his innocence of all crime against Shah Soojah and the British Government; and concluded by saying, that, if attacked, he would defend himself to the last. This paragraph was in reality as false as the rest of the letter, for Miraub Khan's personal valour was evidently not intentional: his saddled camel was ready for his flight; and had not General Willshire rushed upon him with such totally unexpected precipitancy, and overpowering rapidity of success, this doughty chief would have fled before being brought to extremities. He had calculated to the last on deceiving or bullying the British authorities, and never contemplated the possibility of such promptitude of assault as should not leave him leisure for flight.

It was first proposed that only one regiment should proceed to Khelaut; then that two should go, and finally the detachment of artillery was added; and Brigadier Baumgardt marched with the force in command.

On the evening of November 3rd, General

Willshire dined with us at the staff-mess, nor had any individual present any idea that he would not move with us, who were to commence our march next morning by the Bolan Pass to Daudur.

At day-break General Willshire announced to Brigadier Stephenson, commanding artillery, to Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, Quartermaster General, and to Major Hagart, Deputy Adjutant General, that he had reconsidered the matter, and should leave Brigadier Scott in command of the Bombay column; and that they were to accompany him in pursuit of Brigadier Baumgardt, in order to proceed to Khelaut.

Some confusion, and personal inconvenience to the officers so suddenly called upon to make new arrangements, was the necessary result of this unexpected determination; but it was fortunate for General Willshire and the rest that such a change was made.

On the 4th November the artillery and cavalry brigades, under Brigadier Scott, left Quetta. On the 5th we had the long march of twenty-

eight miles, from Sir-i-Aub to Sir-i-Bolan, which we had made when advancing to Kandahar on the night of the 17th and morning of the 18th April. On our return we sent off baggage over-night, without a shadow of apprehension of Miraub Khan's hostilities. The first bugle sounded at one, and we marched at two; halted for an hour, at sunrise, at the top of the pass, and reached the plenteous spring-head of the Bolan river at eleven: our baggage came up with us, having been detained in the pass; such of it as started before us came up in less than twelve hours.

Our journey through the Bolan Pass was very different on our return from what it had been on our advance. The first march from Quetta we met a party of Bengal Sepoys returning from Daudur, who had marched the distance in seven days, and had neither seen nor heard of Beloochy robbers. We met people everywhere; and once a caravan of camels travelling unprotected, fearing no enemy, and suffering no molestation.

The Poona horse, now commanded by Cap-

tain Keith Erskine, led the way; and their being in advance gave us a painful sight of the savage manners of the miserable inhabitants of this fearful country. One of their horses falling so sick or lame as to be useless, they abandoned it; and we were disgusted beyond description, on our morning's march, to see a large family of Beloochies gathered round the carcase of the dead horse, enjoying a high festival. They declared themselves true believers and good Moslems, though revelling on horse-flesh; and vowed that they found the beast alive, and had repeated the kulma in slaying it, agreeably to the Mahomedan ritual, without which it would be pollution to touch it. Women and children were employed in cooking the carrion collops on a miserable apology for a fire; and the father of the family was distributing the dainty morsels, and carving off the huge muscles of the thighs, &c. The whole was the most frightfully disgusting spectacle of ferocious eating and preparing to eat; and what made it worse, the children were very interesting and fine-looking creatures, and one

little girl of four or five years was a sweet child, whose gentle features were scarcely distorted though tugging at the raw flesh, which had been only blackened and charred by the cookery.

This was the state in which Cæsar found the men of Kent in painted nakedness, and as rough in limb, and coarse in mind as these wild denizens of the Bolan mountains! When, oh when, are the schoolmaster and the missionary to be heard in the recesses of this howling wilderness? and who would be that enemy of his race who would systematically debar the spread of truth, till, covering the whole earth, it reaches to such as those children? "Prevent them not!" is the solemn mandate of mercy; and who can call himself a Christian and dare to disobey it?

The river at the lower part of the pass in the two last stages from Kurtee to Koondye, and from Koondye to Daudur, was deeper than when we came this way in April, and we were now reversing the change of climate. At Quetta, November 4th, the maximum of thermometer

was 68°, minimum 26°, and keen frost every night: on arriving at Daudur on the 10th we found Indian heat and Sind dust; maximum of thermometer was 92°, and minimum 64°.

Throughout the journey we were surprised to find more forage, and even more fire-wood, than had fallen in our way as we advanced: the grass had sprung up in the autumnal rains; and the coarse reeds of the river supplied a green top, which our cattle, after starving through the Toba mountains, made no scruple of masticating. They were evidently less particularly fastidious! Animals as well as men were subdued by endurance into the most praiseworthy indifference respecting how plain the food might be, so that there were food at all.

Brigadier Scott's orders from General Willshire were, to halt at Daudur until the brigade from Khelaut should overtake us there. A seven days' journey to Khelaut, some three or four days' delay there; seven days to return to Quetta, and a halt for rest there,—were calculated as the whole period they would re-

quire, and twenty days were allowed as a liberal estimate for them to overtake us.

But Mr. Bell, the political agent in Sind, who met us at Daudur, had made preparations, and magazines of grain and forage for the cavalry on the route to Sukkur; so that delay became objectionable for commissariat reasons, and we marched to Nousherra on the 14th. At this place Captain Hogg, our chief of the bazaar department, showed me the scene of an occurrence which a singularly good fortune only allowed to be ludicrous.

On our advance, Captain Hogg had travelled with the artillery brigade, which marched two days in front of the cavalry and infantry. When at Nousherra, Captain H. and Major Todd, the political agent, had left camp for some reconnoitring purpose, and were quietly returning home in the dusk of the evening, when, being seen by some blockhead of a sentry, probably half asleep, the idiot fired at them without attempting to challenge; and instantly, the alarm given, a firing began which would have destroyed them before they could have

made themselves known, but for the providential inequality of the ground, and their being able to shelter themselves under a ridgy bank.

The clamour and confusion of the excited camp was too loud for their outcries to be heard; and, some trace of their horses being seen in the distance, a six-pounder was prepared to give them a volley of grape. This they could see quite clearly by the lights of the camp, though they were happily unseen. They were now literally screaming for their lives, and were happily at last heard; but not until the artillery camp had been as thoroughly roused up as if all the Beloochies that occasioned the halt at Jerruk, and all who defended Kurachy against Sir F. Maitland and Brigadier Valiant, had been assaulting the camp together. On the 20th we reached Koonda, on the edge of the desert; and, the following day, we received the first post that had come to hand from General Willshire's division, and this brought us the startling announcement of the fall of Khelaut, and the brilliant success of that gallant and well-conducted enterprise.

General Willshire had been painfully misled by the political authorities, who, from the highest to the lowest, were totally ignorant of what it was their duty to have known, or at least to have been able to conjecture. On the 13th November, at Daudur, the very day that the battle was fought, and, as it happened, at the very hour that it was hottest, I had called on Mr. Bell, the political agent in Upper Sind, and who had Now Nawaz Khan, the cousin and destined successor of Miraub Khan, in his camp, prepared to enjoy the skin as soon as we should have killed the bear. Mr. Bell was not responsible for anything above the pass, but he had local knowledge, and some means of judging; yet even he, relying probably on Captain Bean's reports, had no conception of any resistance at Khelaut, and ridiculed the apprehension which had induced Captain Bean to advise General Willshire to take so large a force: he did not believe that fifteen hundred armed men were to be found throughout the length and the breadth of Miraub Khan's country.

A brilliant achievement was performed, and General Willshire had no interposition of good fortune to thank for it. His own clear head designed, and his brave troops, following his noble example of personal exposure and contempt of danger, subdued all obstacles, and accomplished a triumph which will make the name and character of the British soldier the terror and wonder of Central Asia, from the Indus to the Caspian and the Euphrates.

No native ever spoke of the storming of Khelaut but with unbounded admiration. Of Ghizni they thought little; even those who did not charge the garrison with treachery, attributed the whole success to the skill of the engineers, in which they were nearly right: but at Khelaut it was a fair stand-up fight, and no favour; and the hardest hitter, holding out longest, had it.

But the native soldier, too, had his share, and did his duty at Khelaut. At Ghizni the four European regiments were the storming party; and it was an unstatesmanlike act, whether military or not, to show "the Affghan

nation, and Asia generally," that the invaders of India would find only twenty thousand European troops, scattered over a million square miles beyond the Sutlege, worth their consideration, and that the one hundred and fifty thousand native soldiery there were not to be counted on, or their opposition apprehended, since our own general could not, or would not, rely on them! General Willshire has removed the chance of that false impression, and his conduct towards the 31st Bengal Native Infantry calls for the gratitude of the country in a more tangible shape than the thanks of Parliament.

A regiment is to be considered as a battery of about six hundred firelocks; and, when properly placed and properly manœuvred by educated and experienced officers, it matters much less than people are prepared to imagine, whether the triggers are pulled by black fingers or white. Every officer who had his choice would, of course, join and accompany a European regiment in action, in preference to a native. That is not the question: the sub-

ject under consideration is the "moral effect—" a phrase we heard till it nauseated us in Sind—produced by the non-appearance of the native soldiery in the storming party at Ghizni, and the removal of that evil impression by General Willshire's manly reliance on the officers and men of the gallant Bengal 31st at Khelaut.

At the period that the report of the fall of Khelaut reached Sind, the mountaineer Beloochies, whose rugged fastnesses skirt the dependencies of Shikarpore, were in arms; and Major Billamore, with the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, a detachment of artillery, and a strong corps of irregular horse, was employed against them. The whole country was agitated by anxiety and alarm of what might befall at Khelaut, and in fear of the ruffians that Miraub Khan's mandate might let loose on the country. The result of the destruction of his power and the termination of his influence was the dissipation of these alarms, and the dispersion of the gangs who had been encouraged to assemble by his letters and emissaries, and were held together only in reliance upon the con-

fusion his power might create: a more rapid change from commotion to quiet cannot be imagined. The new Khan of Khelaut left Mr. Bell's camp with a very small escort, and hurried to his capital to enjoy the vacant honour, and to realize his own unexpected good fortune.

General Willshire, with his gallant column, found no difficulty in travelling from Khelaut through the Gundava Pass to Sind: a route which Sir John Keane had abandoned as impracticable in April, but which was at this period found to be in every respect more accessible than the Bolan, and with fewer difficulties in respect to forage and supplies; there being a few mountain villages, and an appearance of population, instead of an utterly inhospitable desert.

Sir David Ochterlony was once able to make a most advantageous move on the Nepaul frontier by attending to a native tradition, that, some fifty years before, an elephant had been sent from some Rajah of the low country to some Rajah of the Nepaul hills. The legend was inquired into, and found to be true; the

road the elephant had travelled was sought for, traced; and a British column following the route thus discovered, not by accident, but by judicious and sensible inquiry, was enabled to turn the enemy's position, and penetrate into a district that had been considered inaccessible.

It was not the tradition, but the personal knowledge of the people of Gundava, that the chiefs of Khelaut were wont to remove themselves and families every winter to Gundava, and that the train of wheeled carriages and cattle for the women and attendants of the Khan's family descended by the Gundava Pass. Had Sir David Ochterlony been there, the column would probably have ascended from the plain by the route by which those cavalcades had been wont to descend from the mountains in autumn and return again in spring; nor would there have been any probability of his being deceived into the belief that the route was impracticable.

## CHAPTER IX.

Cholera a contagious disease. — Death of Surgeon Forbes. — Report of the fall of Khelaut, and of the Russians marching on Khiva.—March to Rojaun.—Arrangements for the sick. — Deaths among the Officers from cholera and small-pox. — Gratifying effects of our expenditure. — The Residency at Shikarpore. — Neighbourhood of Sukkur.—Interesting landscape.—Description of the fort of Sukkur.—Anticipations of prosperity.—Military value of Kurachy.—Financial speculations.—Lofty minaret at Sukkur. — Probable site of towns mentioned by the ancient Greeks.

On the 17th of November, at Baug, commenced a most calamitous occurrence of cholera, the most distressing and untoward event of the whole campaign. I have recorded my opinion in my "Notes on Cholera," published in Calcutta in 1826, that I considered the disease contagious. I have seen nothing since to shake that opinion, and much to confirm it. Let

me be understood, that by contagion I mean, not a degree of virulence of disease which shall as certainly spread into, and operate on, whatever it approaches, as fire explodes gunpowder, or destroys whatever is combustible. If such a disease existed, it would not stop until it had passed through the human race: and consequently the medical philosopher, when he writes of contagion, means something modified by rules and causes which we observe, but cannot understand; which, under predisposing circumstances of liability to receive it, may be transmitted from one that is diseased to another that is not so, but passes innocuous over a large portion of those subjected to its influence.

This is not the place for discussion on the law of contagion: suffice it to say, that on our arrival at Baug, on the 16th of November, we had no disease in our camp; on the morning of the 17th two servants from the staff-lines were taken ill in the village, brought out to camp, and died. The next morning Surgeon Forbes of the 1st Cavalry was attacked, and two or three more servants.

Poor Forbes was more accustomed to hold an intimate intercourse with natives than any other person in the force, and had spent the preceding day in the bazaar at Baug, discussing the statistics and local politics of the place and district with the people in the market. He was, I believe, the only officer of the camp who had been in the village. He called on me as he returned from thence, and sat half an hour showing some coins he had brought from Kaubool, and relating what he had heard in the village. On the morning of the 18th he breakfasted with the regimental mess of the 1st Cavalry, and was in high spirits, and with no sign of disease. He was attacked about eleven o'clock, and within two hours was considered past recovery. Some improvement took place at night. More cases had occurred among the followers; and, the disease being found on inquiry to have been prevailing and still existing in the village, the column moved on next morning a stage of twenty miles. At this stage we had no new cases; and poor Forbes was, beyond hope, better, and apparently doing well. The next

morning, 20th, we made another stage of fifteen miles to Koonda. On arriving at the ground, I found my poor friend Forbes after a bad night in that melancholy state which left no hope. He lingered through the day, and died in the evening.

The following morning, 21st, we received two astounding articles of intelligence, — the fall of Khelaut on the 13th; and an official intimation from Mr. Bell, political agent, to Brigadier Scott commanding, that he had received instructions from the Envoy and Minister to halt the column until further orders, in consequence of a report having reached Kaubool that the Russians in force were marching upon Khiva. We hardly knew which deserved the greatest degree of our wonderment. During the day, a few cases of cholera occurred among the camp-followers; and in the afternoon three European soldiers of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons were attacked. I saw Brigadier Scott on the subject in the evening, and professionally recommended moving, as the disease was then in the village. The political agent's requisition to halt was, of

course, in the contemplation of a very remote contingency; and the pestilence was among us, and at our doors. Brigadier Scott at once concurred; and the move, which could not take place till next evening, was decided on if more cholera should occur.

We were on the edge of the desert, and had a thirty-four miles' march before us. We could not move without preparation, or we should have been off next morning. With daylight I went the round of the hospital, and saw that, though no new cases of the disease had occurred in the night, a change had taken place in many of the sick, and that symptoms of cholera were supervening on other disorders. I rode through the village, and ascertained that cholera had been prevailing there, and that two of the villagers had died during the night. The necessity for removal was not to be disputed.

In the apprehension of deficiency of water in the intervening halting-places betwixt Koonda and Shikarpore, the column moved in two detachments; and the first, consisting of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons and a troop of horse-

artillery, left Koonda that evening at five, halted twice during the night, and reached Rojaun before five in the morning,—a desert march of thirty-four miles done under twelve hours, including halt.

It was near full-moon: a clear, bright, cloudless sky was over head; and under foot the hard-sounding clay of the desert, that echoed as we trod, and over which the artillery-wheels rolled unimpeded as smoothly as the balls over a billiard-table. More advantageous circumstances for making a long march could not have occurred. The humane arrangement in our Indian establishment of doolies, or palankeen-litters for the conveyance of the sick, enabled the most serious cases to be carried along without the risk from fatigue and exposure that would have resulted from any other mode of transport. All the carts that could be found, nearly fifty, were hired, and used for the servants and followers: and thus we travelled on the 24th from Rojaun to Janadeera, on the 25th to Jaugun, and on the 26th to Shikarpore. The rear detachment overtook us on the 27th;

and the following day, the 28th, we moved on to Kye, and on the 29th to Sukkur. No new case occurred after the 27th: but, betwixt the 20th and 30th of November, we had lost through this appalling visitation two officers and fifty-six European soldiers on a total strength in camp short of seven hundred. War and all personal dangers have their *fanfaron* and their excitement, as well as their hazards; but the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noonday, strike their unresisting victims in the depression of a subdued mind, and spread over the most callous survivors amid their falling comrades that deep-toned anxiety and trouble of the soul which is, like the wounded spirit, unbearable.

The two officers thus cut off after only a few hours' illness, Surgeon Forbes of the 1st Bombay Cavalry, and Captain Ogle of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, were both men of unusually benevolent and warm-hearted dispositions, sincerely and unpretendingly good. It seemed strange that Forbes's disease could be traced to a peculiar and unusual intercourse with natives:

and that Ogle, when the disease commenced, could not be kept out of the hospital; his native kindness impelling him, in spite of warning of the danger, to be almost constantly there. There were not two men in the force more kindly regarded, or that could have been more generally regretted. Only a few days after the decease of Captain Ogle, Lieutenant Janverine of the same regiment fell a victim to small-pox on the 6th of December; a melancholy catastrophe, and which robbed the force of a valuable officer. He had devoted himself to the study of the Asiatic languages, and of Oriental inquiry generally, and had acquired a great fund of information respecting Affghanistan. The loss of such a man would have been deeply felt at an earlier period of the campaign.

The towns of Daudur, Baug, and Gundava have all traces of antiquity, and in past ages have had a population and wealth which have been dispersed or destroyed during the anarchy of the last thirty years. Betwixt Mehur and Baug, we crossed a singular ridge of earthy hills, evidently the effect of an earthquake-con-

vulsion; the strata of soil distinctly showing that they must originally have been watery deposits on a level surface burst upwards and elevated by volcanic action. Two parallel ranges of hills appear here, as at Lukky; but these do not exceed four hundred feet in height, and seem entirely composed of the silt of the Indus, or whatever inland sea once flowed over these vast levels: with the exception of these ridges, the whole plain from Daudur to Sukkur is one uniform flat of the same character.

Wherever water is found, the capabilities for cultivation appear very great. Nothing could be more beautiful than the wheat-crops we saw as we travelled through in April at Gundava and Daudur, and the Jowary-crops round Koonda and Baug as we returned.

It was truly gratifying near Shikarpore to see the effect of our expenditure, and the results of security and circulation of money. Large tracts of jungle were cut down, and the plough was going over clearings where harvests had not smiled for an age. We crossed a

canal for irrigation at a point fully thirty miles from the Indus, and which probably ran a course exceeding a hundred miles, that was twelve or fifteen feet deep, and as many broad; which, after having been neglected and dry for half a century, was now under the process of being cleaned out in preparation for next season's inundation. A thousand minor branches extended on either side from the main trunk. The expenditure of the campaign has not been wasted, if the public purse be not exhausted, and England be not too much the worse for it; since it has made Sind and Affghanistan sing for joy, and diffused itself over the land to reappear in ten thousand forms of a new prosperity.

Shikarpore is a modern Hindoo town which has risen, like Pally in Marwar, by being the entrepôt of the trade of Kandahar and the westward with Sind and India. It has no public buildings, and lies on a dreary flat embosomed in a grove of date-trees; the town consisting of a dense mass of mud-built houses in as compact a form, and with as dirty lanes

for its thoroughfares and its crowded bazaars, as can be imagined. Its population of fifty thousand is said to be four-fifths Hindoo.

Mr. Bell, the political agent, has raised a strange-looking pile of building, which is designated the Residency, or something of that sort, in the worst part of a most unhealthy neighbourhood, and one which no European will ever inhabit from July to November with impunity; in sad illustration of which it may be remarked that a detachment of troops stationed here last year has suffered sufficiently to justify the most serious apprehension for any future party or individuals that may have the misfortune to be cantoned in this region of fever. Professional opinion on this subject is not guess-work, but professional knowledge: there is no dire necessity of an unrelenting destiny that experience must be bought.

The approach to Sukkur is through a very dreary woodland of dark tamarisks, and the hills on which the cantonment is built are not seen; for, being only one hundred and thirty feet high above the plain, on one is an imposing

ruin of a tomb, on the other a lofty minaret nearly a hundred feet high.

The hills themselves are the western of the limestone range which extends thence eastward and southward for a hundred and fifty miles towards Jeysulmere, and into the descent toward Balmeer; the country on the bank of the Indus at their western face being a rich and populous district, the dependence of Khyrepore.

The Indus at this place may have originally washed along the outer shoulder of the hills; and the line of the ancient bed of the river seems distinctly to be traced even to where it may be supposed to have first broken through the range, betwixt insulated masses of the limestone formation.

So peculiar a site as the islet fort could not have been overlooked and omitted in the description of Alexander's voyage, had it existed at that period as it now appears; and we may venture to pronounce that the current of the river has since cut itself a way through the looser strata of the limestone ridge and left the harder masses,

one of which now forms the island, and others the hills on the Sukkur side of the river. The twist which the river takes at this place exceeds anything I saw elsewhere; being a horseshoe, or rather three parts of a long oval, not less than nine miles in length, and short of three miles across the neck of the isthmus. In the extreme of this bend are Sukkur on the western side of the river; Bukkur, an island in the current; and the town of Roree on the eastern side.

The view of the river, the island fort, and the opposite bank surmounted with the fortifications and town of Roree, form the most interesting landscape we saw during the campaign. The banks of the river on both sides are deep-green with extensive groves of shady date-trees; the largest, loftiest, and most shady of their kind I ever saw, and extending for some miles down each bank.

Roree is still a town of importance, and contains near ten thousand inhabitants. Sukkur is quite in ruins; but those ruins indicate a once flourishing, rich, and populous capital:

about a thousand souls appear still to reside in hovels among the relics of more stately habitations. The vicinity of the British cantonment will soon restore a large portion of its ancient wealth, and probably divert the trade that now centres at Shikarpore to a new and safer channel under the protection of the British authority.

The fort of Sukkur is an oblong oval, of about eight hundred yards in length, and in its extreme breadth three hundred. The fortifications are very paltry, and owe their strength to the broad moat of the Indus: but it is commanded by the high banks on either side, and would not be tenable against European artillery; whilst such is the wretched construction of the rampart, that it was found necessary to discontinue the firing of the morning and evening gun, the mere vibration of blank cartridge being too much for the crumbling mud and rubble-work of which the bastions are compounded.

I have seldom felt more struck than with the appearance of this river and its islets; one

having the tomb and shrine of Khajee Khizr, the other the tombs of the saints and nobles of Roree, with beautiful trees overshadowing the buildings; the hills of Roree on the one side, and Sukkur on the other, with the dark wooded banks of the river above and below; the broad expanse of the stream, about eight hundred yards wide, covered with boats; and the rising British cantonment, destined in a few years to attract new wealth and new population, and probably to change the moral as well as political character of the country.

The fort of Bukkur, and the town and fort of Kurachy, have been surrendered back to their original owners. The coming events, which are casting their shadows before them, will soon demonstrate the wisdom of this measure, which is an abandonment of one of the few real advantages obtained for British interest by the campaign. The fort as a military keep is of no value, but the retention of it indicated a footing in, and possession of, the country; and those who have advised that the appearance of this should be eschewed,

know little of what constitutes our strength in India.

But the port of Kurachy, with a safe entrance of eleven fathoms, and land-locked from every wind, is the most important position on the coast, and has something more than an imaginary value dependent on opinion; whilst the climate permits the cantoning of troops within five days' communication by steam with Bombay, and within twenty days' easy land-march of Sukkur, without reference to the river for a military movement. The position commands Sind and controls the Indus; and must be to Sind, the Punjaub, and its dependencies, and the whole "Douranee empire," what Alexandria is to Egypt, and was to India and to Europe, as the key of their mutual communications, before the discovery of De Gama. The situation of the cantonment of Sukkur has been selected by Brigadier Gordon most judiciously in every respect, whether as a military position or as a healthy site: but the bazaar, which might probably have increased to a populous and rich native city, has been

placed on a low damp ground adjacent to the river, in a situation so necessarily unhealthy, that none, save the mere dependents of the camp are likely to remain there; and the chief advantages of the circulation of money and the trade of camp will devolve to the town of Roree, and cause in time the rebuilding of Sukkur.

It is somewhat strange that the planners of our cantonments have never had a sufficiency of political economy to secure for British territory, and the British revenue, the advantages that result to the neighbouring country from the expenditure of so much ready money, monthly, as occurs in our cantonments.

It is not only an essential military and political measure, but also a very important financial one, to retain those advantages for our own subjects; and, wherever a force is to be stationed beyond the frontier, the cession of a district of at least twenty miles square should be first stipulated for: since I need only point to Deesa and Belgaum as illustrations of my meaning, and show what the chiefs of Palhan-

pore and Shapore have gained, in increase of revenue, by the expenditure of those cantonments, to prove the correctness of this reasoning.

Our cantonments of Sukkur and Kurachy will enrich the Ameers of Sind at our expense; and the nominal receipts from the treasuries of Sind by the British Government, will be repaid tenfold by the British Government to the treasuries of Sind.

A lofty minaret, the ornament of a Syud's tomb, and standing on a hill about one hundred and thirty feet high, is the most conspicuous object of the new cantonment. It is ascended by a winding stone stair; and from its airy summit, about a hundred feet high, the whole country round, to Shikarpore west and Khyrepore east, may be seen spread below like a panoramic map, and the broad stream of the river twisting and twining in its most unprecedented sinuosities, — the most singular meandering that probably any river in the world exhibits. It was my favourite resort; and I have sat for hours on that lofty pinnacle, whilst

Fancy has filled the wild scenes before me, in rapid succession, with all that has pointed the moral and adorned the tale of the Indus' history.

The site of Sukkur, or its vicinity, occupies in the ancient legends of the country the same importance in Upper Sind that Sehwan held as the capital of Lower Sind; and Sri Meeneegur, as the capital of the Delta; and Bamboora and Brahminabad, now ruins, as the sea-ports of the valley of the Indus.

I could never learn the seven names of Sehwan, nor more than that Bagdad was the appellation superseded by Sehwan. The Mahomedan invaders have frequently given their names to Hindoo towns, as in the case of Hyderabad, the present capital of Lower Sind, which was Nerankote under the Hindoo dynasty; but the Hindoos never forget the ancient appellations, and their legends are good authentic aids to history. I have supposed Sehwan to be Patala; and Tatta, Minigara. I would further place the city of Musicanus at Aloree, the ruined city destroyed by Ma-

homed bin Kasim a thousand years ago, and which has been superseded by the modern towns of Sukkur and Roree; and Sindomana below Khyrepore, in the vicinity of Nousherra.

The distance from Sukkur to the junction of the five great rivers of the Punjaub is not short of two hundred miles by the river; Sehwan lies nearly the same distance south, and from thence to Tatta is about one hundred and forty miles; and these distances tally with the brief outlines of history which have reached us of the Greek expedition; whilst the accidental mention of the invalids and home-sick of the Greek army being sent back through the country of Oxycanus to Carmania indicates the route of the Bolan Pass and Kutch Gundava, a district on the western side of the river: thus giving us, in the order of Alexander's conquests, first, the Sogdi in the Bawulpore country; second, Musicanus at Aloree; third, the country of Oxycanus in Gundava; fourth, the country of Sambus and his Indian mountaineers eastward to the mountains of Jeysulmere, his southern boundary being Lower Sind or Patal.

lena; and in all we appear to have probability for our conjectures. The last of the Hindoo towns named by Diodorus is Hermatelia; which, as Herma Talaone, indicates a native name, and, if not washed away by the river, will no doubt be found in some shapeless ruin, or some decayed village, when we have acquired a more thorough knowledge of the country.

## CHAPTER X.

Sukkur.—Mild temperature.—Old friends.—House of Dr. Don.—Depôt General Hospital.—Remark of the Duke of Wellington.—Necessity of an improved provision for the sick.—Necessary expenditure of officers in the native regiments.—Propriety of their receiving an increased Government allowance.—Expediency of securing Heraut.—Orders for breaking up the Bombay division.—Military movements.—News of my promotion, with instructions to proceed to Bombay.—Arrangements for my departure.—My last evening at Sukkur.—Festival in honour of a native officer.—Observations on the Sattara affair.

KAUBOOL had been a bright oasis in the desert: we found a second at Sukkur. The climate during December, in 27° 50′ north, and within reach of the freezing blasts from Khelaut, must approximate to the most congenial spots of Italy. Not a cloud ever obscured the sky; and the thermometer, varying from a maximum

of 68° in a house to a minimum of 45°, sufficiently indicates the pleasurable feeling of pure air and mild temperature. No frost occurred, but a wood-fire evening and morning was very agreeable; and the abundant bazaar of Sukkur, and a full supply of wines, re-established the sociability of our table. We found our old friends too, the 5th and 23rd regiments, here. The 1st Grenadiers, under Major Billamore, were absent on field-service, subduing Beloochies. My friend and coadjutor, Doctor Don, whose duties were to superintend the medical stores of the army, had been left behind with them, when no camels were to be had for their conveyance. He had further been placed in charge of the Depôt General Hospital, European and Native, established at Sukkur, and had enjoyed no sinecure since we parted. His report on the climate of Upper Sind, and its effects on Europeans, betwixt April and October, will be published by the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay; and may, I trust, save European lives and the Government treasury, by preventing European troops from being stationed at

Sukkur, or in any part of the valley of the Indus.

Doctor Don had built himself a "mud edifice," whose inner walls, being coloured with the yellow ochre which is abundant in the hill, presented to us, who had been a year in tents, the *beau-idéal* of luxurious comfort. It had cost him four hundred and fifty rupees building, and had a flat roof on which we could promenade; and was about thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and twelve high, with a sloping-roofed veranda eight feet broad all round it, from which two rooms were partitioned off for bedrooms, nearly twenty feet by eight each. One of these chambers was allotted to me; and I looked in wonderment at man's inventions and performances when I found myself its tenant, within walls and under a roof, instead of being a dweller in a tent.

The building Doctor Don had been able to get run up for his general hospital, was about ninety feet long, fifteen feet in breadth and heighth, with a flat roof; and the veranda, of the same elevation, supported on square pillars.

The whole of the walls, roof, and pillars were of mud. Crowning the summit of an isolated hill, this long, flat-roofed building with its veranda pillars, was not unlike at a distance the drawings of what Don termed it, the Temple of Luxor! It was admirably adapted for the purposes for which it had been built; and its shelter proved of immense benefit to the sick we brought in with us.

The Duke of Wellington has made a judicious and valuable remark, to the effect that "a sick soldier is not only useless for the purposes for which he is conveyed at a great expense to a remote colony or dependency, but he becomes a serious responsibility, a great expense, and a heavy burthen." Nothing can be more true: and few matters relating to military arrangement deserve more attention. If the treasury were inexhaustible in the first place, and if, in the second, the Jaffa doctrine of administering opium to the supposed incurably sick could be allowed, the sickness of the soldier would be a very secondary consideration; he might so easily be got rid off, and his place so easily re-

supplied: but since revenue is limited, and British law and feelings, as well as Christianity, forbid the tyrant's contempt of human life, and permit no tampering with it, there are no preliminary points more urgently essential, in any campaign, than those which relate to preserving the health of the soldier.

I am on delicate ground here; and as this is not the place to urge on the public attention, that, in my opinion, the professional services of the hospital department are of greater moment than they are generally considered, and that they might be more advantageously directed, I will pass on, and merely hope that in this respect a better time is coming.

The 23rd regiment Bombay Native Infantry, which we found stationed at Sukkur, are justly celebrated for the admirable management of their mess; and many a delightful evening was spent in the enjoyment of comforts which had been so long denied us. The native regiments are necessarily weak in officers; the full complement, when complete, being only twenty, with the surgeon. The numbers absent on

staff duty, and on furlough to Europe, either on private affairs or through sickness, reduce the total of those generally present to an average below ten; and of these it will very frequently happen that from two to six may be absent on detachment duties of the thousand kinds that occur in India: thus great exertions and much personal sacrifice are requisite to maintain a good mess in a native regiment. A trifling allowance is bestowed by Government; but it is not half what ought to be given, and does not, I believe, at all equal what is granted in the royal service, either as respects money or money's worth, to each regimental mess; without reference to the fact, that the royal regiments have generally double, and frequently treble, the number of officers present.

Every officer who leaves India on furlough or sick-leave, devolves an increased duty on his comrades who remain, and saves to Government the amount of his Indian allowances; say of a captain, rupees two hundred and ninety per month. A small proportion of such saving to Government might be most advantageously be-

stowed in promoting the comfort of the duty officers who remain.

Whilst we were at Sukkur, every officer of the 23rd regiment left head-quarters on duty; so that Lieutenants Stock and Forbes, the Adjutant and Quarter-master, and Assistant Surgeon Carnegie, were the only three present. A great expense must have devolved on them, and the absent officers must have paid a great deal towards a table they did not benefit by whilst absent; and the reader need not be told that the emoluments of a regimental subaltern officer do not exceed his unavoidable expenditure. This is at least one point on which the benevolent consideration of the Home Government might be bestowed; and it would be deeply felt by the most deserving and most valuable class of their servants in India, the duty officers of their native regiments.

On the 9th of December we received letters from General Willshire's column, stating that the General had left Khelaut on the 21st of November, and reached Sind through the Gundava Pass without any difficulty. His inten-

tion was to proceed to Larkhanu, and not to Sukkur; and the officers of the general staff were ordered thither to meet him. This was not pleasant news: like those who visited the Lotophagi, and, eating lotus, forgot their country, we had learnt to prefer the comforts and abundance of a fixed cantonment to the disagreeables of a camp. The General reached Larkhanu on the 18th, and was joined by the staff on his arrival.

It had transpired that Lord Auckland had written to Mr. Bell, that he was not to attach importance to the wild reports he would hear of the advance of the Russians; and it was whispered by those who knew, or affected to know, more than their neighbours, that the halt of the Bombay column had never had reference to the Russian advance, but to some political moves at Heraut. It need not be doubted for a moment, but that having spent three millions in "hurling the usurper from his throne,"—that is to say, in deposing Dost Mahomed, and in the creation of the "Douranee empire,"—the "moral effect" of deposing Kamranshah, and of annexing Heraut

to Kaubool, would have been incalculable, consolidating the strength of Kaubool by a frontier position which recent circumstances have proved to be invaluable.

When sober history relates how Shah Soojah, with the countenance of Runjit Sing, attempted to eject Dost Mahomed and reinstate himself in 1834; and how Runjit Sing availed himself of the opportunity of Shah Soojah's attack on Kandahar having drawn the strength of Dost Mahomed's forces thither, to make himself master of Peshawer; it will not say that any attempt of Dost Mahomed to eject Runjit Sing from his usurpation on the west bank of the Indus was "an unprovoked attack on our ancient ally." My notes are not history, but a personal narrative, and the opinion of one who had no access to unpublished official documents; consequently they are entitled to little value more than that they show what was generally thought and believed in the unofficial circle of spectators and subordinate actors in the scene.

I may therefore remark, that, setting aside the consideration of the justice or wisdom of the

expedition against Dost Mahomed in favour of the Douranee empire, being once involved, the expediency of securing Heraut is not to be disputed; all discussion will hinge on that first step, which rendered the others indispensably necessary.

The districts of Peshawer and the Derajaat, on the west bank of the Indus, which were wrested by Runjit Sing from Dost Mahomed, are as valuable and important to the Douranee empire as they were to the "ex-ruler;" and our future position at Kaubool will be the incessant renewal of those claims at every opportunity; and eventually, at no long interval, we shall have foreign intrigue offering influence and money to regain by force what we refuse to obtain in any way; and these suggestions will be listened to, and our treaty with Kaubool, which debars the king of the Douranee empire from any political relation with any foreign power, save through the British mediation, will be treated with ridicule by any foreign power to whom it is not politically inconvenient to declare war against us.

Our policy is clear and imperative, to work through what has been begun; for let it be distinctly understood that Lord Auckland's policy is not the end, but a beginning only. Heraut must be subdued and annexed to Kaubool for its own security; and our hold on Kaubool must be, after compelling or bribing Runjit Sing's successor to restore Peshawer and the Derajaat, the maintenance of such a frontier force as shall show the Kaubool court that the first moment of a rupture with the British Government will be the certain loss of those valuable districts on the bank of the Indus, accessible at once to, and utterly indefensible from, British hostility. But Heraut is not yet annexed to Kaubool, and the Seik Government still holds Peshawer and the Derajaat; and the strife and the outlay yet to be prepared for are neither trifling in themselves, nor in what may result from them.

On the 24th of December General Willshire received, at Larkhanu, the orders of Lord Auckland for the breaking up of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus. From the 9th

of December the military arrangements for Sind were made over to the Bombay Government; her Majesty's 17th regiment and the Artillery Brigade were to halt at Sukkur, pending, as it was supposed, the discussion in progress at Herat; and the Cavalry Brigade, and her Majesty's 2nd Royals were instructed to proceed to Poona and Deesa.

On the 27th we commenced our march to Sukkur; the 2nd Queen's Royals, under Colonel Baumgardt, whose brigade was now broken up, moving to the bank of the Indus, where, after a short delay, they embarked in boats, and reached Kurachy about the 30th of January.

Our march of five short stages to Sukkur was completed without a halt; and we ended the year and our march together, arriving at Sukkur on the 31st of December.

A distance of fifty miles from Larkhanu to Sukkur is almost entirely along the bank of the Indus, and through one of the richest districts that can be imagined; but even in this Garden of Sind we saw proofs at every step of a new prosperity. The fields are irrigated by

shafts, dug a few feet distant from the river-bank, and a tunnel made for the water to enter, whence it is drawn by Persian wheels worked by oxen. These shafts occur at every two or three hundred yards, and there appeared at least as many new ones, evidently having their date from this year, as there were several older, some finished and some in progress; and everywhere an activity and spirit of industry, such as must be a new feature to the country.

On arriving at Sukkur, I was informed that General Willshire had received a communication from the Bombay Government, notifying that my promotion by seniority was to take place on the 15th of January, from the resignation of Mr. Orton; and that I was to be instructed to proceed to Bombay to take my seat at the Medical Board. Our Indian designations of Superintending Surgeons, and Members of the Medical Board, are parallel with the Royal Staff Officers, Deputy Inspectors, and Inspectors General of Hospitals; and rank respectively as Lieutenant Colonels and Brigadier Generals in the army.

My promotion was attained early, compared with the Bengal establishment, for an obvious reason, that the Bombay establishment has been nearly doubled since I joined it in 1810; but after a medical officer, who cannot begin a boy, has served twenty-nine years within the tropics, he cannot be supposed to have more than a very little fragment of life left to enjoy anything that may accrue to him in virtue of his seniority. Fortunate or not, I may venture to say that I have not been a drone in the hive; having never had a furlough nor held a Presidency appointment, and having spent eighteen years of my twenty-nine in the unhealthy region of Guzerat.

I had now to arrange for my departure, without reference to the departure of the column. The year had closed, and it was necessary that the official documents should be forwarded, that none of my duty might be left to my successor. During our weary marches, the routine of returns and reports had fallen into arrear, partly through interruptions of office duty, but chiefly through mischances of losses

of posts destroyed by Beloochies. I never worked harder than during the last thirteen days I spent at Sukkur, but the work was completed satisfactorily before my departure.

My last evening at Sukkur was pleasantly spent at the comfortable mess-table of the 23rd regiment at a festival dinner given under the peculiar circumstances of a native officer of the regiment having received from the Supreme Government the decoration of the order of British India. This valuable order is not only a personal decoration worn on the uniform, but is accompanied with a substantial increase of salary, and may thus be recognised as an advantage by the dullest of the herd, in whose plebeian clay is no spark of that patrician chivalry which would pluck up drowned Honour by the locks for half a quarter of a yard of sixpenny ribbon!

Subedar Buhadur Sew Golaum Sing was one of the individuals whom the Rajah of Sattara had attempted to persuade to aid

him in exciting a commotion in the Dekkan: this is not the place, nor am I the person, to discuss the question of that contemptible design, which was not the less odious because the capacity and the means of the prime mover were unequal to his objects and wishes. Sew Golaum Sing was a cool-headed thinking man, of one of the best Hindoo tribes, and just the person from his position in his regiment, then stationed at Sattara, and his birthright claims of sanctity of caste, to have attracted the Rajah's notice, and the last to have betrayed him under supposed ordinary circumstances; but the tie betwixt the Hindoo race and their hereditary chiefs was broken, first by the Mahomedans, since by their own degeneracy, and lastly by the British character for truth and fidelity to its engagements. The monthly payment to the native soldiers never ceases, and the monthly pension to the invalid and the heirs of the deceased is never tampered with; and these extend to

an amount which embraces some member of almost every family throughout India, and are discharged with their periodical promptitude, and certainly in a manner that is the world's wonder among Asiatics.

They judge of all native governments by the falsehood of tongue and rottenness of heart, which are only poor human nature in its native debasement, when the head is turned and the disposition brutalized by the possession of arbitrary power, by idolatry in religion, and polygamy in marriage, of which order of princes alone they have had any experience.

The Sattara affair has attracted attention at home, and a Captain Cogan of the Indian navy has been making himself conspicuous in the matter. Sir John Hobhouse's version of the strange expressions attributed to him have not reached India; but what he ought to have said to a person like Captain Cogan should have been, "Your rank and place as a Bombay

marine officer were not such as are likely to have attracted the notice of the Rajah of Sattara; nor are the opportunities you have had of distinguishing yourself such as to justify the belief that your reputation as a person qualified to advise, should have travelled to Sattara; nor have you ever held any public position that should have drawn a native chief to have applied to you for countenance and support.

"In India you had a certain duty to discharge, for which you received a certain salary; and when the Indian Board want advice respecting Bunder-boats and botillas, and require information respecting the South Prong or Butcher's Island, no one will doubt your qualification to speak on those subjects; but in all that relates to the Sattara affairs you can know nothing but through the medium of others."

The British public are deceived with this cant about native princes and their sovereign

rights: the greatest good to the greatest number requires an end of their absurd pretensions, which cannot be conceded without the ruin of the country. When their territories lie beyond our frontier, the less we trouble our heads with their internal policy the better: we cannot interfere but to control; and that must end in extension of frontier, petty jealousies, mistrusts, frauds, application for foreign aid contrary to treaty; and war and subjugation are the steps traced by a dire necessity which there is no avoiding.

But when petty independencies claim sovereign rights, or have that royalty claimed for them by such mistaken advocates as Captain Cogan; when their territories and kingdoms of a few square miles are dovetailed into British territories, and lie intermingled like the black and white squares of a chess-board, it requires no prophet to foresee that the thousand caprices of a thousand despots must make sad havoc of the happiness of their miserable dependents, and that they cannot destroy the peace and prosperity of their black squares

without some serious injury resulting to our white ones.

The Kurnool magazine of five hundred pieces of artillery, found buried and concealed within three hundred miles of Sattara, was an overt act, which proved the hostility that was meditated there; and showed that certain enemies of England had succeeded in convincing at least one chief, and he an inferior in income and fancied hereditary claims to the Rajah of Sattara, that the time was come when "Goa, the gate of India," might receive an army from foreign Europe to dispute our supremacy, and for all the enemies of England to rally round: consequently there is no such wild impossibility in the supposition that the Rajah of Sattara entertained the same belief and acted on the same reasoning.

The chief of Sattara enjoys a royal revenue of fifteen lahks of rupees, grand total, or about 150,000*l.* per annum, for all the state purposes of his civil and military administration: a mighty potentate truly! Mr. Elphinstone and Sir Lionel Smith found him a close prisoner,

and made him all that he is: but it was a mistake, originating in erroneous though high-minded views towards the petty states in the Dekkan; and a false step of the same order, and through the same generous motives, which placed an income of 120,000*l.* at the disposal of the ex-Peishwa, which could only be employed in the most mischievous intriguing that disappointed ambition, and fallen greatness, and the ranklings of hatred and bigotry could accomplish.

To that Brahmin wealth at Benares, and to Brahminical machinations, disseminated through every quarter and into every remote nook of India, so directed and so operating, may most probably be traced, without reference to Russian emissaries, the whole of that agitation, and unsettledness, and looking for a change, which seems to have been excited throughout the country, no one knew how, who did not take the trouble to recollect that there was the fallen head of a falling priesthood at Benares, possessing every qualification of personal character, with purse, position, and party at his

command, and disposed to use all to disturb the native mind, and to agitate the worst hopes and passions of all that are "in distress, in debt, or discontent," throughout the empire.

To return to the native officers of the 23rd regiment. Brigadier Gordon and all the senior officers of the station dined at the mess in honour of Sew Golaum Sing's advancement. After dinner, the decorated Subedar, and all his brother native officers, entered the mess tent, and were kindly and appropriately addressed by Lieutenant Hock, the adjutant, in the name of his regiment. The Subedar's reply was highly creditable to the man, and to the class; and the whole party then adjourned to a tent, where Sew Golaum Sing had prepared a native entertainment for all his brother native officers, and where it was kept up long after our departure; in fact I heard the sound of music and native revelry when I woke after my first sleep.

The whole affair was admirably good,—

the occasion, the cause, the party by whom, and the spot where the celebration occurred: it would be heard of throughout Sind, and reported through Shikarpore correspondence to Heraut, and Bokhara, and Lahore.

## CHAPTER XI.

Voyage to Tatta with Col. Scott.—Col. Scott and the rats.—Changes in the Indus.—Gale of wind.—Iron steam-boats unfit for river navigation.— Construction of native boats.—Undermining process of the current.—Alligator fired at by Col. Scott.—Reception at Tatta.—Garra.—The ancient Barbarika.— Mouj-durria.— Great mortality in the 26th regiment of Native Infantry.—Harbour of Kurachy.—Ancient promontory Barake. — Dwarka.— Marriott's monument.—Parting glance at the ancient descriptions.—Bombay fisheries.—Return to Bombay.—Reflections.—Conclusion.

Colonel Scott, of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, having resigned his command of the Cavalry Brigade, he and I embarked together on the morning of the 13th of January, to make the voyage to Tatta along the Indus: we had two large boats, one for ourselves, and the other for our five horses, tents, and servants. Our boat afforded cabin-room for a sleeping-berth, a dining-room, and kitchen. Our progress was uniformly about five miles

per hour by the force of the current, aided by two large oars or sweeps near the bow, worked each by a man and a boy; and by a very large skull or sweep-oar, worked by the steersman, which guided the boat as well as aided her speed. The poor fellows worked steadily fully eight hours through the day, occasionally resting to smoke their hookahs when any narrow of the river betwixt sand-banks lent increased speed to the current, which probably occurred for a quarter of every hour daily. No rude motion disturbed our ease: the placid river navigation was calmly gliding along an untroubled stream, and with a progress as unperceived as the silent lapse of time towards eternity.

At sun-set we brought up for the night: the boats were made fast to the shore; the crew landed to cook and eat, and we to walk for exercise. Our dinner was announced by seven o'clock, and we closed the day in the "feast of reason and the flow of soul;" our servants being adepts ere this at camp cookery, and the art of improvising dinner — and

a good dinner too — being well acquired. In process of time we sought repose; and then commenced our discovery that Whittington's cat would have been an invaluable *compagnon de voyage* on the Indus, as well as on the coast of Africa. The Sind boats are all infested with colonies of rats, of which they will, no doubt, be cleared in time by the march of intellect; but, as we were voyaging in the transition period, we had to endure the brunt of it.

When we compared notes in the morning after our night's adventure, it was evident that Scott had been most familiarized in rat experience: "I did not care," said he, "at their scampering in couples over my bed, and coming down bump upon me from the ceiling; but when one hungry villain clapped his cold paws upon my cheek, and sniffed about with his cold nose over my eyes and up my nostrils, I could stand it no longer!" I certainly should have jumped about vehemently had I been pawed and nosed after the same fashion; but let Colonel Scott's experience

warn all future voyagers on the Indus to embark with a cat in their company.

On the 14th we passed Larkhanu about our breakfast hour, and brought up at night at Nishara, opposite to a ferry and considerable thoroughfare named Par Putti. Whether this name has any relation to Patala, I know not; but the division of Higher and Lower Sind, must be near this, and both Putti and Nishara have significations to justify the supposition of a boundary: our boat-people, too, considered that they were entering a new country, and reinforced their crews with two additional oarsmen to each boat.

On the 15th, in the morning, we passed the relics of Sher Sehtanry, an ancient city which the river has encroached on, and is carrying away. At noon passed a tomb in the distance, with its white-washed cupola, said to preserve the memory of Gole Komer, a chief slain in battle at a neighbouring village named Rookan.

On the 16th, we had fine views of the Lukky mountains in the distance; and at one P. M.

brought up at Sehwan to dispatch a note and newspapers to Captain Lyons, who had been detached from Sukkur on commissariat duty.

The channel of the Indus through which all our fleet of store-boats sailed last March, was quite filled up; and in another year Sehwan may be an inland town, a mile and a half from the river. Proceeding on, we sailed over the identical geographical site, under the shoulder of the Lukky mountain, where the Lukky Pass had been, over which the army had marched last February: the current rolled along the side of the bare rock, and no one, who had not seen it last February, could have imagined that it had not rolled thus since the creation.

We had this day experience of a gale of wind on the Indus; the instantaneous destruction of the steamer on the Euphrates by a sudden whirlwind may be understood by those who have seen such inland hurricanes in this country. One which occurred at Sukkur, in April 1839, is described, by those who saw it, as the most awful conflict of the elements

that could be imagined: the suffocating dust, the roar of the winds, and the unearthly tumult and confusion surpassed description, and exceeded all that could have been previously imagined. We had it not in this extreme severity; but our clumsy boat could not be kept in the current, and was borne by the force of the wind against the bank: we were obliged to halt at Mehr, opposite the town of Lukky.

On the morning of the 17th we brought up at a populous and pleasingly-situated town, Cheychun, to obtain a supply of eggs and vegetables: they were procured; and, proceeding on our way, we met a fleet of boats having on board Captain Watkins and a company of the 23rd regiment, who had been sent for treasure to Hyderabad from Sukkur. As a contrast between the rate at which we were sailing down the current, and the pace our friend was tracking up against it, he had left Hyderabad nine days before. On the 8th we relied confidently on being there at an early hour next day, and were so. At four in the

afternoon we saw the Snake steamer; and as we passed, Captain Carless, of the Indian navy, who commanded her, paid us a visit. His name may be associated with those of Burnes and Wood in the history of the Indus discoveries, which may be said to have opened a new road to a new world in Indian relations, and thrown a new light on modern geography and ancient history. He was accompanied by Major Felix, who had hoped to have travelled up and seen Bukkur, but was disappointed by the unfitness of the iron steam-boats for river navigation.

Captain Carless, as a scientific naval officer, will, no doubt, explain that unfitness. To me it appeared that a flat-bottomed boat, drawing forty-two inches' water, working by steam against a current of three or four miles per hour, would, when in fifty or sixty inches' water, have such an eddy under her stern that her rudder could not operate. The Sind boats slope inwards from the taffrail fully eight or nine feet, and are either steered by an immense skull-oar, or have a perpendicular beam

let down from the stern under the taffrail, and joined to another beam, projecting backward from the counter and rudder-post; and the rudder, a huge triangular frame, is rigged upon the former, to work at least six or eight feet distant from the heel of the keel: at that distance it is removed from the force and whirl of the eddy, bubbling and boiling under the stern, and can be felt by the vessel. Where we met Captain Carless is nearly midway betwixt Hyderabad and Sehwan. Greater changes seem to have occurred in the river here than elsewhere. It is the broadest and shallowest part of the river. Everywhere new channels were forming and old ones being blocked up. It is a little above this that the Fuleila branch, which passes Hyderabad, turns off; and somewhere near this I would place the apex of the Delta and the commencement of the island Patalene.

At sunset we saw the Indus, an iron steamer, at anchor in the mid-current. She was anchored by a chain-cable, and the torrent roaring past pulled her head down, so that

the figures on her cutwater and stern-post showed that she drew a foot more water at her head than at her stern. When under way, her draught was apparently three feet and a half. This would not be too much for a properly constructed vessel; for it is difficult to suppose that a river which has no ford for a thousand miles has not a four-feet water channel through its whole course.

This evening I had the good fortune to observe the effect of the river's undermining power against its banks. Either the gale of the preceding day had thrown up some bank, so as to give a new direction to the current, or had opened some channel, partially closed, so as to direct the whole force of the river against the usually earthy bank, which was here, at an angle, covered with stately trees. By a happy accident I was looking in the direction, seeing masses of earth and bushes falling at a distance of about two hundred yards, when suddenly the whole headland, apparently thirty feet above the water, and perhaps fifty feet in front to the river, and

ten or twelve deep inwards, being undermined, rolled crumbling into the river. Two large acacia-trees seemed to have a moment's delay, being probably held by the roots extending inwards beyond where the bank was giving way, and then fell forward into the river. It was truly a sublime sight; and nature's gigantic operations were shown in their full action. Those trees, thus under-dug and swept away, would undoubtedly help to block up some old channel and open some new one; for, wherever they grounded, they would form the nucleus of an island and the cause of a current. That evening we halted at Gatana. A navigable channel here rejoined the main stream. We had not observed above where it had separated. All night we heard the loud reports of masses of the undermined bank falling into the river, like the thunder of artillery; and, at every fall, a concussion of the water occasioned our boat to give a roll and pitch, that showed what a vast bulk had each time disturbed the sleeping surface of the river.

On the 18th we reached Hyderabad, before

noon: we were kindly received by Captain Whitelock, the officer in charge of the Residency, left our letters and proceeded; but the wind was still adverse, and for an hour, at four, we were compelled to halt at one of the Ameers' shikargahs. We made little way after, and halted at Brunkinna.

The 19th we had a steady adverse wind blowing all day, and our people were hard-worked to go on: we passed the town and hills of Jerruk. At noon we had a fine view of an alligator of the largest size, probably not less than twelve feet in length, basking or asleep on an islet rock: as we glided close to it, Colonel Scott treated the brute with a load of shot,—he had not time to load with ball, the animal not being perceived until we were close on him, and drifting rapidly past; his movement, when tickled by the shot about his eyes and ears, was a very awkward and clumsy attempt at agility as he plunged into the water.

A small and very ancient tomb, a stone cupola on four square columns of very delicate

proportions, and what seemed other ruins on some very marked hills, probably ten miles below Jerruk, appeared to indicate the relics of some ancient city; but we could not stop to examine them.

That evening we halted within five miles of Tatta, delayed by the foul wind; and next morning reached the end of our voyage by sunrise. The distance, of about three hundred and sixty miles, had been done in less than seventy hours, though part of the time was a struggle against a strong adverse wind. With the single exception of our friends the rats, our voyage had been exceedingly agreeable; and, had we been heathens, we should have poured our libations to the Indus, and sacrificed the cup to the genius of the stream.

We were most hospitably received in the ancient British factory at Tatta by Captain Parr, the commissariat officer: we saw traces of the old establishment, and names of forgotten factors carved on the doors and windows. It was strange to think on all that had occurred since their day, and difficult to explain the

misinformation and mismanagement through which British influence had receded from this important frontier, whilst it had filled the whole earth of India, either unresisted or overpowering all resistance, elsewhere.

A night of heavy rain on the evening of the 21st prevented our proceeding next day to Kurachy, and detained us the 23rd. On the 24th we had a toilsome journey, nearly fetlock-deep in mud, the result of the heavy rain, the whole way, from four in the morning till past ten, six hours' tedious wading to Garra, a distance of about twenty miles, where we found a tide creek, and boats ready for us: we embarked at high-water at twelve. A strong tide and a favourable wind carried us along at a rapid rate, and it was soon evident that the creek we were navigating was an ancient outlet of the Indus; the same banks that occur at Tatta were here, and a noble channel much broader than the Hujamry. A canal short of twenty-five miles without a lock, through a sandy soil, the deposits of the Indus over a perfectly level country, dug to twenty feet deep, would carry

the ocean tide to the Indus a few miles above Tatta.

On this branch of the river was the ancient emporium Barbarika, or Bamboora. The ruins are described by the natives as the relics of the oldest seaport of Sind. Outram describes them thus: "At about two miles from Gharry-kote (Garra) I went off the road a few hundred yards to inspect the ruins of a city covering a low hill edging the river for about a quarter of a mile: the foundation of walls, bastions, and houses can be distinctly traced, and appear very ancient; coins are frequently washed up in the rains. The name given by my guide was Bamboora."

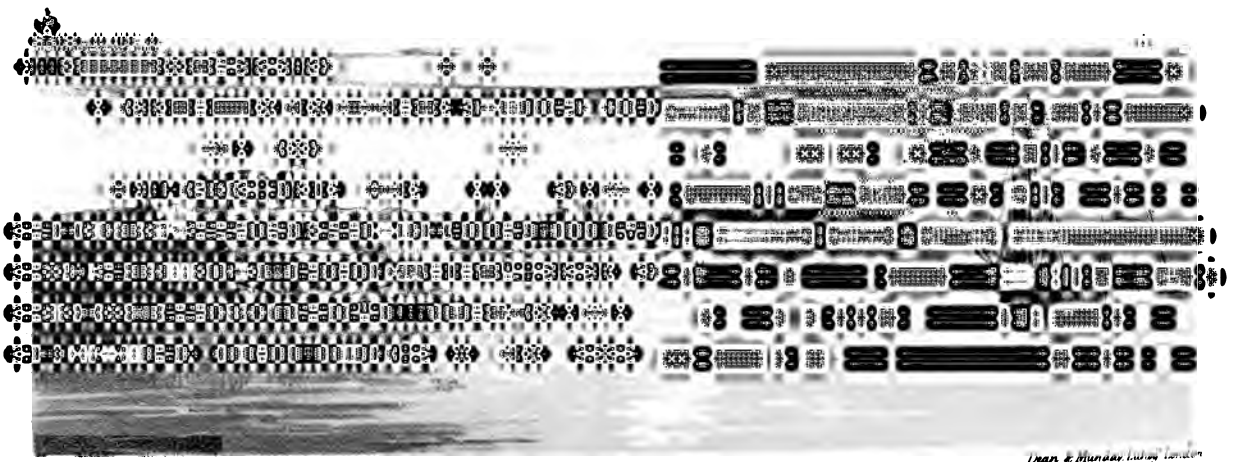
The affix Ke is the sign of the genitive case, Bamboora Ke Bunder would be the harbour of Bamboora; and a Greek writer would be too well pleased to write Barbariki to omit the opportunity. It is not however the sound, but the site which guides me, when I say that the ruins represent the locality assigned by ancient geography.

Outram saw other ruins in this vicinity.

"At about ten miles from Gharry-kote, (Garra), and opposite to a small village called Meerpore, the ruins of a city were pointed out to me at some distance off the road, which I had not time to visit; it is called Mouj-durria, and said to be Mahomedan, of much greater extent and in better preservation than Bamboora."

The name Mouj-durria, meaning "wave of the sea," more probably applies to the ruins themselves, and the cause of their destruction, than gives the original name of an ancient city. I would seek Debal Sindi here, and should doubt the Mahomedan origin, as the Mahomedans have not been builders but destroyers in Sind. Under any circumstances, two extensive ruins within twelve miles prove ancient population, and go far to establish my supposition that the Garra Creek, in the age of Alexandria, was the western outlet of the Indus.

The creek approaches within six miles of Kurachy in a westerly direction, and then turns south into the sea, within nine miles of Kurachy harbour; and such is the description by Arrian of the western outlet.




FORT & HARBOUR of KURACHY

London Published by H. Bentley, New Burlington Street 1840

At Kurachy I had the pain to visit the hospital of the 26th regiment Native Infantry, which had been nearly destroyed, and was now totally disorganized as a military body by the climate of Tatta. On the 28th of January, the hospital registers showed that this unfortunate corps had had one thousand five hundred and seventy-six cases treated in hospital betwixt August 1st and that date, of which upwards of ninety had died; and there were at the time five hundred and forty-two men on the hospital report unfit for duty; a sickness and mortality beyond all I have ever known or heard of among native troops in India.

During the said period, the 2nd Bombay regiment stationed at Kurachy had had two hundred and ninety-five cases treated, and three deaths.

Had her Majesty's 40th regiment, which had remained at Kurachy, been removed to Tatta, which it most probably would have been but for the exertions of Colonel Valiant, the sickness might have equalled the calamity of the 26th regiment of Native Infantry, but the

casualties would no doubt have been fourfold. Whoever caused the cantoning of troops at Tatta has the heavy responsibility of all the suffering and all the mortality of the 26th regiment.

The removal of the 22nd regiment from Tatta to Sukkur in October saved that regiment from the same extent of suffering and extreme mortality: but even this regiment, so happily removed, was nearly disorganized by sickness; having had upwards of one thousand two hundred cases treated in hospital during a period in which an equally strong regiment at Kurachy had not three hundred. These are facts which speak for themselves, and require no comment; they may, I trust, operate to prevent the repetition of such injudicious measures in future.

On arriving at Kurachy, two sea-going vessels had been prepared for Colonel Scott and myself, and we were able to illustrate Arrian's narration of Alexander's visit to the western outlet of the Indus by our own experience. The storm and rain which had detained us at Tatta

had occurred at the full-moon springs, and our boats had been driven on shore, and Colonel Scott's was carried by the force of the storm at the highest hour of tide so far, that it was high and dry at a distance from low-water mark that would unquestionably puzzle the comprehension of a Mediterranean mariner. Colonel Scott was detained a few days at Kurachy in consequence, being obliged to wait for spring-tides ere the vessel could be floated again.

The harbour of Kurachy is protected from the sea and prevailing winds by a rocky promontory, rising about one hundred and fifty feet, and projecting about a mile and a half in length, and which may have been an island in the age of Alexander; the opening to the south-east is protected by several insulated rocks, which are the only islands now seen along the whole coast of Sind. It is a safe harbour and easily accessible, and the only valuable port as a naval station, and in a military or commercial view, north of Bombay. It is very much removed from the influence of the Indian

south-west monsoon, being betwixt the climate of India and Persia; and experiences so little rain, that a very few inches in the year may be considered an average fall. The dry sandy soil, the *débris* of the Sind rock, creates no malaria; and the refreshing sea-breezes mitigate the fierce temperature of a climate so seldom cooled by rain in 25° north, on the verge of the tropic.

The town of Kurachy will soon rise to a place of the greatest consideration. The expenditure of the British cantonment and the establishment of the communication betwixt Bombay, the Punjaub, and Kaubool, will bring wealth and population, and a few years will suffice to prove the incalculable importance of this position.

I embarked at night on the 29th of January, and weighing anchor at eight P. M. sailed for Bombay: the next morning found us within sight of the land-mark raised by our Government at the mouth of the Hujamry, the most important outlet of the Indus, last year, but which during one season has been closed like

the Garra Creek, and has now no river communication with Tatta or junction with the main stream; a single fact sufficiently demonstrative of the value of a harbour removed from the rapid changes of the outlets of the river. The 30th and 31st were spent on the coast of Sind; mild weather and light breezes and pleasant, though not rapid progress. On the morning of the 1st of February a brisk north-wester was taking me, as the sun rose, across the Gulf of Kutch, "the Kanthi of Ptolemy, the Eirinon of the Periplus." The promontory Barake is fixed at Dwarka by every authority, and in the varying sound of the letter I should find nothing unusual, even in our daily experience, to see Warka changed to Barka, at the mere caprice of the speaker: the peculiarities of the classic digamma have been attempted to be explained by the varying sound of one letter changing through B F W and V in the Sanscrit alphabet.

My voyage across the gulf almost realized the description of the Periplus. A stiff breeze blowing, and the tide rising, rolled in as much

of a sea as was agreeable to a landsman: we shot across the gulf, and made the southern coast at Barwalla, indifferently called Barwalla or Varwalla. The pagoda of Samiany was our first land-mark, and then Barwalla: the Isle of Bate, seen in the distance, has been, in our own time even, "infamous for pirates," whose irregularities were not finally suppressed till the capture of Bate in 1820.

At eleven o'clock the night-breeze moderated, and I was close to Dwarka: it was a beautiful night, and as placid a sea, and as soft a breeze as could have been desired for a landsman's summer sailing. My thoughts were in the years and with the friends of my youth, as I looked on the monumental pillar built at the extremity of the headland of Dwarka to my poor friend Marriott, who died of his wound received at the taking of Bate in December 1820, in his twenty-fifth year. A kind act, in bad taste, has put Marriott's pillar in juxtaposition with the vast masses of Hindoo architecture which cover this sacred spot, so that it is seen to disadvantage; whilst had it been in his native

village, Prestwick near Manchester, or a tablet in Bombay church, the poor fellow's memory would have been better honoured. He was a highly educated, high-minded young man, an honour to his profession, and lived beloved and died regretted by all who knew him.

I will turn a parting glance to the ancient descriptions. The Kanthi of Ptolemy for the Gulf of Kutch first led me to look for an outlet of the Indus here, the word being used through Guzerat as we affix "dale" to the name of a river to describe its valley or its vicinity: thus Mhye Kantha for the valley of the Mhye, and Rewa Kantha for the valley of the Nurbudda;—the Nurbudda running as it does nearly parallel to the tropic, and dividing the Dekkan (the south) from Hindoostan, is dedicated to the sun (Rewa), and is generally termed the Rewa or the Sun's River in Sanscrit. Thus Sind Kantha is distinctly the Indus valley.

The local tradition of the Run being within the past five centuries a navigable sea, confirmed my opinion that the Indus' current once rolled hither: even from Pautree, below Ra-

daupore, by Dundooka and Dolora to the Gulf of Cambay, the whole country is on so low a level that I have no doubt but that the Indus' waters have in remote antiquity occasionally, nay regularly, flowed across and insulated Kattywar as well as Kutch: even now I am inclined to believe that the occurrence of an unusual flood of the Indus, in conjunction with a heavy monsoon in Guzerat, would lay a line of country under water from Sind to the Gulf of Cambay.

Whoever fords the Run from Arrysir to Peepralla must be struck with the appearance of the two coasts, and the marks they exhibit of no very remote action of powerful currents of water; the headlands and bays precisely resemble the shores of an arm of the sea; and the celebrated stone found at Dookurwara, on the eastern extremity of the Run, called Sungi Urufi, or Lettered Stone, occurs also at Kurachy, and seems an Indus' deposit.

But there is a passage in Arrian which I cannot treat lightly, since we must despise our author for it if we leave it unremarked on. At the end of November, and in the 26th

degree north latitude, Nearchus is gravely made to say, that by standing out to sea from the coast of Mekraun he found the sun vertical!—an assertion which would destroy his authority throughout, and which cannot be acceded to; for there is nothing elsewhere of the wild improbability of gross fiction to be charged against him. Arrian is condensing the journal of Nearchus, and the only explanation I can give, since such a fact is positively and unequivocally asserted, is, that this passage alludes to the voyage out to sea made by Alexander when he reached the ocean in July; and, as no part of Sind is in the tropic, it follows that either this passage in question is an undignified falsehood, very unlikely from the character of the parties, or that Alexander's voyage of discovery down the eastern branch of the Indus extended through the Run to the Gulf of Kutch. I have preferred the latter, supposing that Arrian's description of the great lake or inland sea which Alexander sailed through concurs with the local traditions respecting the Run, in which I think there can be no doubt we have good ground on which

to defend the credit of our best author; but I shall weary my reader, and must therefore leave my conjecture to be corrected or confirmed by some sounder judgment, or fortunate discovery.

The voyage along the coast of Kattiwar during the 1st and 2nd of February was beyond measure agreeable. A soft, sweet, favouring breeze filled the sails; and the vessel glided over a smooth sea, about six knots an hour, within a mile of the shore, where mountains in the interior, and a perpetually varying coast studded with fine towns and wooded villages, showed good cause why Mahomed of Ghizni should come hither, and made it only wonderful that he ever returned.

Like Justice Shallow's estate in Warwickshire, the "marry good air" was all that Ghizni could boast of over Kattiwar. Even the Sultaun Bauber wonders that the sovereign of old time should have chosen such a place as Ghizni; but whoever has spent thirty years in India, and, like myself, eighteen of those in Guzerat, will not wonder at the taste that

preferred the climate and fruits of Ghizni to the barbaric pearl and gold of the gorgeous East.

On the evening of the 3rd of February I was close to Diu, and that night our course was directed south. The following day no land was in sight till evening, when lofty mountains, dimly seen through the haze, indicated Salsette. The fog on the morning of the 4th concealed the land; and, without a breath in the air, the sea was like a lake. We reached the fishing-stakes at Mahim, which, at five or six miles out at sea, are driven into the mud in six or seven fathoms' water. I counted from one line of these stakes no less than sixty-three boats; and, as each was manned by eight, ten, or more men,—and there are very many of these fishing stations,—some idea may be formed of the Bombay fisheries for a population on the island exceeding three hundred thousand.

At noon the sea-breeze sprang up, and, dissipating the haze, showed the old familiar scenes of the island of Bombay. My little bark

soon bounded over the dancing billows. At three o'clock we bore up to round the light-house and enter the harbour; at five o'clock I landed.

My heart swelled as I thought of all that I have seen and borne, since, a young adventurer on the sea of fortune, I landed on that spot in 1811:—the many better men than myself who are now no more, and by whose removal I have become what I am in my humble walk in life, but at the head of it,—the many friends whose place knows them no more, and all the chances and changes of twenty-nine years.

As respected the past year, I had marched with the Bombay division of the army of the Indus upwards of one thousand miles from the Hujamry to Kaubool, and upwards of seven hundred on the return from Kaubool to Sukkur Bukkur, where I was relieved on my promotion: and I may conclude by stating that the summary of the history of the nineteen hospitals of the force during the fourteen months from November 1st, 1838, to

December 31st, 1839, gives, in the European hospital, cases treated, 4648; deaths, 273; and in the native hospital, cases treated, 7041; deaths, 135;—which sufficiently indicates the hardships endured when compared with the strength of the division, and proves also that every branch of the hospital department was efficient.

# OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

## No. I.

### DECLARATION

of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, on the Assembly of the Army of the Indus.

Simla, October 1, 1838.

THE Right Honourable the Governor General of India having, with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, directed the assemblage of a British force, for service across the Indus, his Lordship deems it proper to publish the following exposition of the reasons which have led to this important measure.

It is a matter of notoriety, that the treaties entered into by the British Government, in the year 1832, with the Ameers of Sinde, the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, had for their object, by opening the navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation, in Central Asia, that legitimate

influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce.

With a view to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Affghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties, Captain Burnes was deputed, towards the close of the year 1836, on a mission to Dost Mahommed Khan, the Chief of Cabool. The original objects of that officer's mission were purely of a commercial nature. Whilst Captain Burnes, however, was on his journey to Cabool, information was received by the Governor General, that the troops of Dost Mahommed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Maha Raja Runjeet Singh. It was naturally to be apprehended that his Highness the Maha Raja would not be slow to avenge this aggression; and it was to be feared that the flames of war being once kindled in the very regions into which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British Government would be altogether frustrated. In order to avert a result so calamitous, the Governor General resolved on authorizing Captain Burnes to intimate to Dost Mahommed Khan that, if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maha Raja, his Lordship would exert his good offices with his Highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers. The Maha Raja, with the characteristic

confidence which he has uniformly placed in the faith and friendship of the British nation, at once assented to the proposition of the Governor General to the effect that, in the mean time, hostilities on his part should be suspended.

It subsequently came to the knowledge of the Governor General, that a Persian army was besieging Herat; that intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Affghanistan, for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond, the Indus; and that the Court of Persia had not only commenced a course of injury and insult to the officers of her Majesty's Mission in the Persian territory, but had afforded evidence of being engaged in designs wholly at variance with the principles and objects of its alliance with Great Britain.

After much time spent by Captain Burnes in fruitless negotiation at Cabool, it appeared that Dost Mahommed Khan, chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in urging the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the Governor General could not consistently with justice, and his regard for the friendship of Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, be the channel of submitting to the consideration of his Highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers

of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command. Ultimately he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs on Affghanistan, of the unfriendly and injurious character of which, as concerned the British power in India, he was well apprised, and by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British Government, compelled Captain Burnes to leave Cabool without having effected any of the objects of his mission.

It was now evident, that no further interference could be exercised by the British Government to bring about a good understanding between the Sikh ruler and Dost Mahommed Khan; and the hostile policy of the latter chief showed too plainly that, so long as Cabool remained under his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian Empire would be preserved inviolate.

The Governor General deems it in this place necessary to revert to the siege of Herat, and the conduct of the Persian nation. The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian army for many months. The attack upon it was a most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British Envoy at the Court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of

accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with a gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause, and the Governor General would yet indulge the hope, that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence until succours shall reach them from British India. In the mean time, the ulterior designs of Persia, affecting the interests of the British Government, have been, by a succession of events, more and more openly manifested. The Governor General has recently ascertained by an official despatch from Mr. M'Neil, her Majesty's Envoy, that his Excellency has been compelled, by the refusal of his just demands, and by a systematic course of disrespect adopted towards him by the Persian Government, to quit the Court of the Shah, and to make a public declaration of the cessation of all intercourse between the two Governments. The necessity under which Great Britain is placed, of regarding the present advance of the Persian arms into Affghanistan as an act of hostility towards herself, has also been officially communicated to the Shah, under the express order of her Majesty's Government.

The Chiefs of Candahar (brothers of Dost Mahommed Khan of Cabool) have avowed their adherence to the Persian policy, with the same full knowledge of its opposition to the rights and interests of the British nation in India, and have been openly assisting in the operations against Herat.

In the crisis of affairs consequent upon the retirement of our Envoy from Cabool, the Governor General felt the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards our own territories.

His attention was naturally drawn at this conjuncture to the position and claims of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, a monarch who, when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British Government, and who, on his empire being usurped by its present ruler, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions.

It had been clearly ascertained from the information furnished by the various officers who have visited Affghanistan, that the Barukzye Chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies to the British Government, and to aid us in our just and necessary measures of national defence; yet so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to our interests and security, the British Government acknowledged and respected their authority. But a different policy appeared to be now more than justified by the conduct of those chiefs, and to be indispensable to our own safety. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should have on our Western frontier an ally who is interested in resisting

aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement.

After serious and mature deliberation, the Governor General was satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warranted us in espousing the cause of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Affghanistan had been proved to his Lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the Governor General was further of opinion, that it was just and proper, no less from the position of Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British Government, that his Highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations. Mr. Macnaghten was accordingly deputed in June last to the Court of his Highness, and the result of his mission has been the conclusion of a tripartite treaty by the British Government, the Maha Raja, and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, whereby his Highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to co-operate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all. Various points have been adjusted, which had been the subjects of

discussion between the British Government and his Highness the Maha Raja, the identity of whose interests with those of the Honourable Company has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Ameers of Sinde; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected; while by the measures completed, or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British Government will gain their proper footing among the nations of Central Asia; that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India; and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment.

His Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk will enter Affghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference, and factious opposition, by a British army. The Governor General confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The Governor General has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the

British Crown, but he rejoices that, in the discharge of this duty, he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Affghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit; to reconcile differences; to secure oblivion of injuries; and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Affghans have been impaired. Even to the Chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British Government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment, on their tendering early submission, and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

NOTIFICATION.

With reference to the preceding declaration, the following appointments are made.

Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to Government, will assume the functions of Envoy and Minister on the part of the Government of India at the Court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. Mr. Macnaghten will be assisted by the following officers.

Captain Alexander Burnes, of the Bombay Establishment, who will be employed under Mr. Macnaghten's directions as Envoy to the Chiefs of Khelat or other States.

Lieutenant E. D'Arcy Todd, of the Bengal Artillery, to be Political Assistant and Military Secretary to the Envoy and Minister.

Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay Artillery; Lieutenant R. Leech of the Bombay Engineers; Mr. P. B. Lord, of the Bombay Medical Establishment, to be Political Assistants to ditto ditto.

Lieutenant E. B. Conolly, of the 6th Regiment Bengal Cavalry, to command the escort of the Envoy and Minister, and to be Military Assistant to ditto ditto.

Mr. G. J. Berwick, of the Bengal Medical Establishment, to be Surgeon to ditto ditto.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN.

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## No. II.

### KURACHY.

### Secret Department.

J. T. WILLOUGHBY ESQ. SEC. TO GOV. BOMBAY.

Camp Delhi, 18th Feb. 1839.

SIR,—I am directed by the R. H. the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your

two despatches, No. 305 and 306, dated the 6th inst., and in reply to state that the prompt and effectual measures taken for reducing Kurachy appear to have been conducted in a manner such as to ensure success.

The forbearance both before and after the exertion of force evinced by his Excellency the Admiral and Brigadier Valiant, will not, his Lordship is convinced, have a less valuable moral effect as regards our influence in the country, than will the exhibition of the power and resources of the English in so quickly reducing the place, in discouraging vain opposition and a useless resort to arms.

The Governor General has had much gratification in the perusal of the despatches enclosed by you.

(Signed) T. W. MADDOCK.

Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

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## No. III.

### CANDAHAR.

General Orders by his Excellency Lieut.-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. G.C.H., commanding the Army of the Indus.

Head-quarters, Camp Candahar, May 4th, 1839.

The combined forces of Bengal and Bombay being now assembled at Candahar, the Commander-in-chief congratulates all ranks on the triumphant, though arduous march, which they have accomplished, from

distant and distinct parts of India, with a regularity and discipline which is much appreciated by him, and reflects upon themselves the highest credit. The difficulties which have been surmounted have been of no ordinary nature, and the recollection of what has been overcome must hereafter be a pleasing reflection to those concerned, who have so zealously, and in so soldier-like a manner, contributed to effect them, so as to arrive at the desired end. The Engineers had to make roads, and, occasionally, in some extraordinary steep mountain-passes, over which no wheeled carriage had ever passed. This was a work requiring science and much severe labour; but so well has it been done, that the progress of the army was in no manner impeded. The heavy and light ordnance were alike taken over in safety, by the exertions and good spirit of the Artillery, in which they were most cheerfully and ably assisted by the troops, both European and Native, and in a manner which gave the whole proceeding the appearance that each man was working for a favourite object of his own.

2.—His Excellency shares in the satisfaction which those troops must feel, (after the difficult task they have accomplished, and the trying circumstances under which they have been placed, the nature of which is well known to themselves, and therefore unnecessary for him to detail,) at knowing the enthusiasm with which the population of Candahar have

received and welcomed the return of their lawful sovereign, Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, to the throne of his ancestors in Affghanistan. Sir John Keane will not fail to report to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor General of India, his admiration of the conduct and discipline of the troops, by which means it has been easy to effect, and to fulfil the plans of his Lordship in the operations of the campaign hitherto.

3.—The Commander-in-chief has already, in a General Order dated the 6th ultimo, expressed his acknowledgment to Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, for the creditable and judicious manner in which he conducted the Bengal column to the valley of Shawl. His Excellency has now a pleasing duty to perform, in requesting Major-General Willshire, commanding the Bombay column, to accept his best thanks for his successful exertions in bringing the troops of that Presidency to this ground in the most efficient and soldier-like state.

4.—The Commander-in-chief entertains a confident expectation that the same orderly conduct which has gained for the troops the good-will of the inhabitants of the states and countries through which they have passed, will continue to be observed by them during their advance upon Cabool, when the proper time for the adoption of that step shall have been decided upon by his Excellency, in concert with his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and the Envoy and Minister,

W. H. Macnaghten, Esquire, representing British interests at the Court of the King of Affghanistan.

May 5.

On the occasion of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk taking possession of his throne, and receiving the homage of his people of Candahar, the following ceremonial will be observed:—

The whole of the troops now at head-quarters will be formed in order of review at daylight on the morning of the 8th inst., on ground which will be pointed out to Assistant Adjutants-General of Divisions to-morrow afternoon at five o'clock, by the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army.

The troops will take up their ground in the following order from the right.

Bengal.—Horse Artillery, Cavalry Brigade, Camel Battery, 1st Brigade of Infantry, 4th Brigade of Infantry.

Bombay.—Horse Artillery, Cavalry Brigade, Infantry Brigade.

The 4th Local Horse will take up a position in front of the right flank, and the Poona Auxiliary Horse in front of the left flank, for the purpose of keeping the space in advance of the troops clear of the populace.

A platform will be erected for his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk in front of the centre of the line, on either flank of which detachments of his Majesty's

cavalry will take post to prevent the intrusion of the populace.

Captain Lloyd's battery of Bombay Artillery will be stationed at the Edgah gate of the town, and will fire a royal salute as his Majesty passes.

The troops of his Majesty Shah Shooja will be drawn up in street in the most convenient situation, between the gate and the British army, and will salute his Majesty as he passes. The King's artillery will be formed near the palace, and will fire a royal salute on the departure and return of his Majesty.

On his Majesty approaching the platform, a royal salute is to be fired from one of the batteries in the line; and on his appearing in front of the troops, he will be received with a general salute from the whole line, the colours being lowered in the manner that is usual to crowned heads; and as soon as the infantry have shouldered arms, 101 guns are to be fired from the batteries in line under directions from Brigadier Stevenson.

The Envoy and Minister, and officers attached to the mission, the Commander-in-chief and his personal staff, and the officers at the heads of departments, and Affghan Sirdars, are to be stationed on the right of the throne, Syuds and Moollahs on the left, the populace on both sides and rear of the Shah, restrained by his Majesty's cavalry, 4th Local Horse, and Poona Auxiliary Horse.

The Envoy and the Commander-in-chief will present nuzzurs, as representatives of Government.

The officers of the Shah's force will also present nuzzurs, leaving their troops for that purpose after the Shah has passed, and returning to receive his Majesty.

The Shah's subjects will then present nuzzurs. At the close of the ceremony, the troops will march past, the cavalry in columns of squadrons, the infantry in columns of companies, in slow time; the columns will move up to the wheeling point in quick time. The columns having passed, will continue their route towards the encampment, the 4th Brigade of Bengal Infantry moving on to the Cabool gateway, at which his Majesty will enter the city, where it will form a street, and salute his Majesty as he passes.

The troops are to appear in white trousers, the officers of the general staff in blue trousers and gold lace.

Corps will parade on the occasion as strong as possible, and the encampments will be protected by the convalescents, and by quarter and rear-guards; such extra guards as may be considered essentially necessary, to be placed over treasure, at the discretion of Brigadiers commanding brigades.

Officers commanding divisions are to be supplied with field states, showing the actual number of troops there are under arms in their respective commands, to be delivered when called for.

His Majesty having expressed a wish that his Excellency the Commander-in-chief should be near his person during the ceremony, Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton will command the troops in line.

May 8.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane has received the gracious commands of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk to convey to Major-General Willshire, commanding in the field, to the Generals and other officers, and the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who were present and assisted at the splendid spectacle of the King taking possession of his throne this day, the deep sense his Majesty entertains of the obligations he owes to them and to the British nation. The King added, that he would request W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Envoy and Minister at his Majesty's Court, to convey these his sentiments to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor General of India.

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## No. IV.

## GHIZNI.

### General Orders by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

### Secret Department.

Simla, 18th August, 1839.

The Right Honourable the Governor General of India has great gratification in publishing for general

information, a copy of a Report this day received from his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K. C. B., Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Indus, announcing the capture by storm, on the 23rd ultimo, of the important fortress of Ghuznee.

A salute of twenty-one guns will be fired on the receipt of this intelligence at all the principal stations of the army in the three Presidencies.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ghuznee, 24th July, 1839.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD AUCKLAND, G. C. B. &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that the army under my command have succeeded in performing one of the most brilliant acts it has ever been my lot to witness, during my service of forty-five years in the four quarters of the globe, in the capture by storm of the strong and important fortress and citadel of Ghuznee yesterday.

It is not only that the Affghan nation, and I understand Asia generally, have looked upon it as impregnable, but it is in reality a place of great strength both by nature and art, far more so than I had reason to suppose, from any description that I

received of it, although some are from officers in our own service, who had seen it in their travels.

I was surprised to find a high rampart in good repair,* built on a scarped mound, about thirty-five feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a fausse braye and a wet ditch, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills from the north, rendering it nugatory. In addition to this screen, walls had been built before the gates, the ditch was filled with water and unfordable, and an outwork built on the right bank of the river, so as to command the bed of it.

It is, therefore, the more honourable to the troops, and must appear to the enemy out of all calculation, extraordinary, that a fortress and citadel, to the strength of which for the last thirty years they had been adding something each year, and which had a garrison of 3500 Affghan soldiers, commanded by Prince Mahommed Hyder, the son of Dost Mahommed Khan, the ruler of the country, with a commanding number of guns and abundance of ammunition, and other stores, provisions, &c. for a regular siege, should have been taken by British science, and British valour, in less than two hours from the time the attack was made, and the whole, including the Governor and garrison should fall into our hands.

* See Captain Thomson's Report, page 266.

My despatch of the 20th instant from Nanee, will have made known to your Lordship, that the camps of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and of Major-General Willshire with the Bombay troops, had there joined me in accordance with my desire; and the following morning we made our march of twelve miles to Ghuznee: the line of march being over a fine plain, the troops were disposed in a manner that would have enabled me at any moment, had we been attacked, as was probable, from the large bodies of troops moving on each side of us, to have placed them in position to receive the enemy. They did not, however, appear; but on our coming within range of the guns of the citadel and fortress of Ghuznee, a sharp canonnade was opened on our leading column, together with a heavy fire of musketry from behind garden walls and temporary field works thrown up, as well as the strong outwork I have already alluded to, which commanded the bed of the river. From all but the outwork, the enemy were driven in, under the walls of the fort, in a spirited manner, by parties thrown forward by Major-General Sir W. Cotton, of the 16th and 48th Bengal Native Infantry, and her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry under Brigadier Sale. I ordered forward three troops of horse artillery, the camel battery, and one foot battery to open upon the citadel and fortress by throwing shrapnell shells, which was done in a masterly style, under the direction of Brigadier

Stevenson. My object in this was to make the enemy show their strength in guns and in other respects, which completely succeeded, and our shells must have done great execution and occasioned great consternation. Being perfectly satisfied on the point of their strength in the course of half an hour, I ordered the fire to cease, and placed the troops in bivouac. A close reconnoisance of the place all round was then undertaken by Captain Thomson, the Chief Engineer, and Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers, accompanied by Major Garden, the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Army, supported by a strong party of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, and one from H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry. On this party a steady fire was kept up, and some casualties occurred. Captain Thomson's report was very clear, (he found the fortifications equally strong all round,) and as my own opinion coincided with his, I did not hesitate a moment as to the manner in which our approach and attack upon the place should be made. Notwithstanding the march the troops had performed in the morning, and their having been a considerable time engaged with the enemy, I ordered the whole to move across the river (which runs close under the fort walls) in columns to the right and left of the town, and they were placed in position on the north side, on more commanding ground, and securing the Cabool road. I had information that a night attack upon the camp was intended from without. Mahom-

med Ubzel Khan, the eldest son of Dost Mahommed Khan, had been sent by his father with a strong body of troops from Cabool, to the brother's assistance at Ghuznee, and was encamped outside the walls, but abandoned his position on our approach, keeping, however, at the distance of a few miles from us. The two rebel chiefs of the Ghiljee tribe, men of great influence, viz., Abdool Ruhman Khan, and Gool Mahommed Khan, had joined him with 1500 horse, and also a body of about 3000 Ghuznee, from Zeinat, under a mixture of Chiefs and Moollahs, carrying banners, and who had been assembled on the cry of a religious war; in short, we were in all directions surrounded by enemies. These last actually came down the hills on the 22nd, and attacked the part of the camp occupied by his Majesty Shah Shooja and his troops, but were driven back with considerable loss, and banners taken.

At day-light on the 22nd, I reconnoitred Ghuznee, in company with the Chief Engineer and the Brigadier commanding the Artillery, with the Adjutant and Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Army, for the purpose of making all arrangements for carrying the place by storm, and these were completed in the course of the day. Instead of the tedious process of breaching (for which we were ill-prepared), Captain Thomson undertook, with the assistance of Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers, Lieutenants Durand and Macleod of the Bengal Engineers, and

other officers under him (Captain Thomson), to blow in the Cabool gate (the weakest point) with gunpowder; and so much faith did I place on the success of this operation, that my plans for the assault were immediately laid down, and the orders given.

The different troops of horse artillery, the camel and foot batteries, moved off their ground at twelve o'clock that night without the slightest noise, as had been directed, and in the most correct manner took up the position assigned them, about two hundred and fifty yards from the walls. In like manner, and with the same silence, the infantry soon after moved from the ground, and all were at the post at the proper time. A few minutes before three o'clock in the morning, the explosion took place, and was completely successful. Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers was thrown down and stunned by it, but shortly after recovered his senses and feeling. On hearing the advance sounded by the bugles (being the signal for the gate having been blown in), the artillery under the able directions of Brigadier Stevenson, consisting of Captain Grant's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the Camel Battery under Captain Abbot, both superintended by Major Pew, Captains Martin and Cotgrave's troops of Bombay Horse Artillery, and Captain Lloyd's battery of Bombay Foot Artillery, all opened a terrific fire upon the citadel and ramparts of the fort, and in a certain degree paralyzed the

Under the guidance of Captain Thomson of the Bengal Engineers, the chief of the department, Colonel Dennie of H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, commanding the advance consisting of the light companies of H. M.'s 2nd and 17th foot, and of the Bengal European regiment, with one company of H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, proceeded to the gate, and with great difficulty, from the rubbish thrown down, and the determined opposition offered by the enemy, effected an entrance, and established themselves within the gateway, closely followed by the main column, led in a spirit of great gallantry by Brigadier Sale, to whom I had entrusted the important post of commanding the storming party, consisting (with the advance abovementioned) of H. M.'s 2nd Foot under Major Carruthers, the Bengal European regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, followed by H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry under Major Tronson, and H. M.'s 17th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Croker. The struggle within the fort was desperate for a considerable time. In addition to the heavy fire kept up, our troops were assailed by the enemy sword in hand, and with daggers, pistols, &c.; but British courage, perseverance and fortitude overcame all opposition, and the fire of the enemy in the lower area of the fort being nearly silenced, Brigadier Sale turned towards the citadel, from which could now be seen men abandoning the

guns, running in all directions, throwing themselves down from immense heights, endeavouring to make their escape; and on reaching the gate with her Majesty's 17th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Croker, followed by the 13th, forced it open,—at five o'clock in the morning the colours of her Majesty's 13th and 17th were planted on the citadel of Ghuznee, amidst the cheers of all ranks. Instant protection was granted to the women found in the citadel (among whom were those of Mahommed Hyder the Governor), and sentries placed over the magazine for its security. Brigadier Sale reports having received much assistance from Captain Kershaw of her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry throughout the whole of the service of the storming.

Major-General Sir W. Cotton executed in a manner much to my satisfaction the orders he had received. The Major-General followed closely the assaulting party into the fort, with the reserve, namely, Brigadier Roberts with the only available regiment of his Brigade the 35th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Monteath; part of Brigadier Sale's Brigade, the 16th Native Infantry under Major Maclaren, and the 48th Native Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler; and they immediately occupied the ramparts, putting down opposition whenever they met any, and making prisoners until the place was completely in our possession. A desultory fire was kept up in the town long after the citadel

was in our hands, from those who had taken shelter in houses, and in desperation kept firing on all that approached them. In this way several of our men were wounded and some killed, but the aggressors paid dearly for their bad conduct in not surrendering when the place was completely ours. I must not omit to mention that three companies of the 35th Native Infantry under Captain Hay, ordered to the south side of the fort to begin with a false attack to attract attention to that side, performed that service at the proper time and greatly to my satisfaction.

As we were threatened with an attack for the relief of the garrison, I ordered the 19th Bombay Native Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stalker, to guard the Cabool road, and to be in support of the Cavalry Division. This might have proved an important position to occupy, but as it was, no enemy appeared.

The Cavalry Division, under Major-General Thackwell, in addition to watching the approach of an enemy, had directions to surround Ghuznee, and to sweep the plain, preventing the escape of runaways from the garrison. Brigadier Arnold's Brigade, (the Brigadier himself, I deeply regret to say, was labouring under very severe illness, having shortly before burst a blood-vessel internally, which rendered it wholly impossible for him to mount a horse that day,) consisting of her Majesty's 16th Lancers under Lieutenant-Colonel Persse, (momenta-

rily commanding the Brigade, and Major MacDowell the junior Major of the regiment, the senior Major of the 16th Lancers, Major Cureton, an officer of great merit, being actively engaged in the execution of his duties as Assistant Adjutant-General of the Cavalry Division,) the 2nd Cavalry under Major Salter, and the 3rd under Lieutenant Colonel Smyth, were ordered to watch the south and west sides. Brigadier Scott's Brigade was placed on the Cabool road, consisting of her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons under Major Daly, and of the 1st Bombay Cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Sandwith, to watch the north and east sides. This duty was performed in a manner greatly to my satisfaction.

After the storming, and that quiet was in some degree restored within, I conducted his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and the British Envoy and Minister, Mr. Macnaghten, round the citadel, and a great part of the fortress. The King was perfectly astonished at our having made ourselves masters of a place conceived to be impregnable when defended, in the short space of two hours, and in less than forty-eight hours after we came before it. His Majesty was of course greatly delighted at the result, when I afterwards, in the course of the day, took Mahommed Hyder Khan, the Governor, first to the British Minister and then to the King, to make his submission. I informed his Majesty, that I made a promise that his life should not be touched, and the King in

very handsome terms assented, and informed Mahommed Hyder in my presence, that although he and his family had been rebels, yet he was willing to forget and forgive all.

Prince Mahommed Hyder, the Governor of Ghuznee, is a prisoner of war in my camp, and under the surveillance of Sir Alexander Burnes — an arrangement very agreeable to the former.

From Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, commanding the 1st Native Infantry Division (of the Bengal Army), I have invariably received the strongest support, and on this occasion his exertions were manifest in support of the honour of the profession and of our country.

I have likewise at all times received able assistance from Major-General Willshire, commanding the 2nd Infantry Division (of the Bombay Army), which it was found expedient on that day to break up, some for the storming party and some for other duties; the Major-General, as directed, was in attendance upon myself.

To Brigadier Sale I feel deeply indebted, for the gallant and soldier-like manner in which he conducted the responsible and arduous duty entrusted to him in command of the storming party, and for the arrangements he made in the citadel, immediately after taking possession of it. The sabre wound which he received in the face did not prevent his continuing to direct his column, until everything was secure,

and I am happy in the opportunity of bringing to your Lordship's notice the excellent conduct of Brigadier Sale on this occasion.

Brigadier Stevenson, in command of the Artillery, was all I could wish, and he reports that Brigade Majors Backhouse and Coghlan ably assisted him; his arrangements were good, and the execution done by the arm he commands was such as cannot be forgotten by those of the enemy who have witnessed and survived it.

To Brigadier Roberts, to Colonel Dennie (who commanded the advance), and to the different officers commanding regiments already mentioned, as well as to the other officers and gallant soldiers under them, who so nobly maintained the honour and reputation of our country, my best acknowledgments are due.

To Captain Thomson of the Bengal Engineers, the chief of the department with me, much of the credit of the success of this brilliant *coup-de-main* is due. A place of the same strength, and by such simple means as this highly talented and scientific officer recommended to be tried, has perhaps never before been taken, and I feel I cannot do sufficient justice to Captain Thomson's merits for his conduct throughout. In the execution, he was ably supported by the officers already mentioned, and so eager were the other officers of the Engineers of both Presidencies for the honour of carrying the powder-bags, that the point could only be decided by seniority,

which shows the fine feeling by which they are animated.

I must now inform your Lordship, that since I joined the Bengal Column in the valley of Shawl, I have continued my march with it in the advance, and it has been my good fortune to have had the assistance of two most efficient staff-officers in Major Craigie, Deputy Adjutant-General, and Major Garden, Deputy Quartermaster-General. It is but justice to those officers, that I should state to your Lordship, the high satisfaction I have derived from the manner in which all their duties have been performed up to this day, and that I look upon them as promising officers, to fill the higher ranks. To the other officers of both departments I am also much indebted for the correct performance of all duties appertaining to their situations.

To Major Keith, the Deputy Adjutant-General, and Major Campbell, the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army, and to all the other officers of both departments under them, my acknowledgments are also due, for the manner in which their duties have been performed during this campaign.

Captain Alexander, commanding the 4th Bengal Local Horse, and Major Cunningham, commanding the Poona Auxiliary Horse, with the men under their orders, have been of essential service to the army in this campaign.

The arrangements made by Superintending Surgeons Kennedy and Atkinson, previous to the storming, for affording assistance and comfort to the wounded, met with my approval.

Major Parsons, the Deputy Commissary-General in charge of the department in the field, has been unremitting in his attention to keep the troops supplied, although much difficulty is experienced, and he is occasionally thwarted by the nature of the country and its inhabitants.

I have, throughout this service, received the utmost assistance I could desire from Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, my officiating Military Secretary, and Deputy Adjutant-General of her Majesty's forces, Bombay, from Captain Powell, my Persian Interpreter, and the other officers of my personal staff. The nature of the country in which we are serving prevents the possibility of my sending a single staff-officer to deliver this to your Lordship; otherwise, I should have asked my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Keane, to proceed to Simla to deliver this despatch into your hands, and to have afforded any further information that your Lordship could have desired.

The brilliant triumph we have obtained, the cool courage displayed, and the gallant bearing of the troops I have the honour to command, will have taught such a lesson to our enemies in the Affghan nation, as will make them hereafter respect the name of a British soldier.

Our loss is wonderfully small, considering the occasion; the casualties in killed and wounded amount to about 200.

The loss of the enemy is immense; we have already buried of their dead nearly 500, together with an immense number of horses.

I enclose a list of the killed, wounded, and missing. I am happy to say, that although the wounds of some of the officers are severe, they are all doing well.

It is my intention, after selecting a garrison for this place, and establishing a general hospital, to continue my march to Cabool forthwith.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KEANE, Lieut.-Gen.

List of killed, wounded, and missing, in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, before Ghuznee, on the 21st July, 1839.

2nd Troop Bengal Horse Artillery, three horses wounded.

3rd Bombay do. do. two rank and file, two horses, wounded.

4th Bombay do. do. one horse killed.

2nd Regiment Bengal Cavalry, one horse killed, one rank and file wounded.

4th Bengal Local Horse, one rank and file and one horse missing.

Her Majesty's 3rd Light Infantry, one rank and file killed.

16th Bengal Native Infantry, one captain wounded.

48th Bengal do. do. one lieutenant and two rank and file wounded.

Total killed, one rank and file and two horses.

Total wounded, one captain, one lieutenant, five rank and file, and six horses.

Total missing, one rank and file, and one horse.

*Names of Officers wounded.*

Captain Graves, 16th Bengal Native Infantry, severely.

Lieutenant Vanhomrigh, 48th Bengal Native Infantry, slightly.

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lt.-Col.
Mil. Sec. and Dep. Adjt.-Gen. H. M.'s Forces, Bombay.

List of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., in the assault and capture of the Fortress and Citadel of Ghuznee, on the 23rd July, 1839.

General Staff, one colonel, one major, wounded.

3rd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery, one rank and file wounded.

4th do. do. do. one rank and file and one horse wounded.

Bengal Engineers, three rank and file killed, two rank and file wounded, one rank and file missing.

Bombay Engineers, one lieutenant, one rank and file, wounded.

2nd Bengal Light Cavalry, one rank and file wounded.

1st Bombay Light Cavalry, one havildar killed; five rank and file, and seven horses, wounded.

Her Majesty's 2nd Foot (or Queen's Royals), four rank and file killed; two captains, four lieutenants, one sergeant, and 26 rank and file, wounded.

Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, one rank and file killed; three sergeants and 27 rank and file wounded.

Her Majesty's 17th Foot, six rank and file wounded.

Bengal European Regiment, one rank and file killed; one lieutenant-colonel, one major, two captains, four lieutenants, one ensign, one sergeant, 51 rank and file, wounded.

16th Bengal Native Infantry, one havildar, six rank and file, wounded.

35th do. do. five rank and file killed; one havildar, eight rank and file, wounded.

48th do. do. two havildars killed; five rank and file wounded.

Total killed, three sergeants or havildars, fourteen rank and file.

Total wounded, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, four captains, eight lieutenants, two ensigns, seven sergeants or havildars, 140 rank and file, eight horses.

Total missing, one rank and file.

Grand total on the 21st and 23rd of July, killed, wounded, and missing, 191 officers and men, and 15 horses.

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lt.-Col.
Mil. Sec. and Dep. Adjt.-Gen. H. M.'s Forces, Bombay.

*Names of Officers wounded.*

General Staff.—Brigadier Sale, her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, slightly; Major Parsons, Deputy Commissary-General, slightly.

Bombay Engineers, 2nd Lieutenant Marriott, slightly.

Her Majesty's 2nd (or Queen's Royals).—Captain Raitt, slightly; Captain Robinson, severely; Lieutenant Yonge, do.; Lieutenant Stisted, slightly; Adjutant Simons, do.; Quartermaster Hadley, do.

Bengal European Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, slightly; Major Warren, severely; Captain Hay, slightly; Captain Taylor, do.; Lieutenant Broadfoot, slightly; Lieutenant Haslewood, severely; Lieutenant Fagan, slightly; Lieutenant Magnay, do.; Ensign Jacob, do.

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lt.-Col.
Mil. Sec. and Dep. Adjt.-Gen. H. M's Forces, Bombay.

(True Copies.)

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

**Memoranda of the Engineers' operations before Ghuznee, in July 1839, by Captains Thomson and Peat.**

The accounts of the fortress of Ghuznee, received from those who had seen it, were such as to induce his Excellency the Commander-in-chief to leave in Kandahar the very small battering train then with the army, there being a scarcity of transport cattle. The place was described as very weak, and completely commanded from a range of hills to the north.

When we came before it on the morning of the 21st July, we were very much surprised to find a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about thirty-five feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a fausse-braye and wet ditch. The irregular figure of the "enceinte" gave a good flanking fire, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills to the north, rendering it nugatory. In addition to this, the towers, at the angles, had been enlarged, screen-walls had been built before the gates, the ditch cleared out and filled with water, stated to be unfordable, and an outwork built on the right bank of the river so as to command the bed of it.

The garrison was variously stated from three to four thousand strong, including five hundred cavalry,

and from subsequent information we found that it had not been overrated.

On the approach of the army, a fire of artillery was opened from the body of the place, and of musketry from the neighbouring gardens. A detachment of infantry cleared the latter, and the former was silenced for a short time by shrapnells from the horse artillery; but the fire from the new outwork on the bank of the river was in no way checked. A nearer view of the works was, however, obtained from the gardens which had been cleared. This was not at all satisfactory. The works were evidently much stronger than we had been led to expect, and such as our army could not venture to attack in a regular manner. We had no battering train, and to besiege Ghuznee in form, a much larger one would be required than the army ever possessed. The great command of the parapets from sixty to seventy feet, with the wet ditch, were unsurmountable obstacles to an attack, either by mining or escalading.

It therefore became necessary to examine closely the whole "contour" of the place, to discover if any other mode of attack could be adopted. The Engineers, with an escort, went round the works, approaching as near as they could find cover. The garrison were on the alert, and kept up a hot and well-regulated fire upon the officers, whenever they were obliged to show themselves. However, by

keeping the infantry beyond musket range, and the cavalry at a still greater distance, only one man was killed, and another wounded; the former being hit by men sent out of the place to drive off the reconnoitring party.

The fortifications were found equally strong all round, the only tangible point observed being the Cabool gateway, which offered the following advantages for a *coup-de-main*:—The road to the gate was clear, the bridge over the ditch unbroken, there were good positions for the artillery within three hundred yards of the walls on both sides of the road, and we had information that the gateway was not built up, a reinforcement from Cabool being expected.

The result of this reconnoissance was a report to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, that if he decided upon the immediate attack of Ghuznee, the only feasible mode of proceeding, and the only one which held out a prospect of success, was a dash at the Cabool gateway, blowing the gate open by bags of powder.

His Excellency decided upon the attempt; the camp was moved that evening to the Cabool road, and the next morning, the 22nd, Sir John Keane, in person, reconnoitred the proposed point of attack, approved of the plan, and gave orders for its execution. Preparations were made accordingly, positions for the artillery were carefully examined, which

excited the jealousy of the garrison, who opened a smart fire upon the party.

It was arranged that an explosion party, consisting of three officers of Engineers, Captain Peat, Lieutenants Durand and M'Leod, three sergeants, and eighteen men of the sappers in working dresses, carrying 300 lbs. of powder in twelve sand-bags, with a hose seventy-two feet long, should be ready to move down to the gateway at daybreak.

At midnight the first battery left camp, followed by the other four at intervals of half an hour. Those to the right of the road were conducted to their positions by Lieutenant Stuart, those to the left by Lieutenant Anderson. The ground for the guns was prepared by the sappers and pioneers, taking advantage of the irregularities of the ground to the right, and of some old garden walls to the left.

The artillery was all in position, and ready by three A. M. of the 23rd, and shortly after, at the first dawn, the party under Captain Peat moved down to the gateway, accompanied by six men of her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, without their belts, and supported by a detachment of the same regiment, which extended to the right and left of the road, when they arrived at the ditch, taking advantage of what cover they could find, and endeavouring to keep down the fire from the ramparts, which became heavy on the approach of the party, though it had been remarkably slack during the previous operations. Blue lights

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

way, through a passage inside the gateway, in a domed building, which opening on one side rendered everything very obscure, and rendered it difficult to find the outlet into the town. They met with little opposition; but a party of the enemy seeing a peak in the column, owing to the difficulty in scrambling over the rubbish in the gateway, made a rush, sword-in-hand, and cut down a good many men, wounding the Brigadier and several other officers. These swordsmen were repulsed, and there was no more regular opposition; the surprise and alarm of the Governor and Sirdars being so great when they saw the column occupying the open space inside the gate and firing upon them, that they fled, accompanied by their men; even the garrison of the citadel following their example. Parties of the Affghans took refuge in the houses, firing on the column as it made its way through the streets, and a good deal of desultory fighting took place in consequence; day-light showed that it had been abandoned by the enemy, and the whole of the works were in our possession before five A. M.

We lost seventeen men, six Europeans and eleven Natives killed; eighteen Officers and a hundred and seventeen Europeans and thirty Natives wounded; total one hundred and eighty-two. Of the Affghans more than five hundred and fourteen were killed in the town, that number of bodies having been buried, and about one hundred outside by the cavalry: 1600

numbers were taken. But I have no means of estimating the number of wounded.

There were nine guns of different calibres found in the place, a large quantity of good powder, considerable stores of shot, lead, &c. &c. and a large supply of rice and other provisions.

Signed. Geo. Thomson, Capt. Engrs.
Chief Engr. Army of the Indus.

During the bombardment the wall pieces were particularly troublesome. This weapon is almost unknown in our service, but it is a very efficient one, especially in the defence of works, and its use should not be neglected. Every fortified post should be supplied with a proportion of them, and a certain number of men in every regiment practised in firing them.

The charge recommended by Colonel Pasley, for blowing open gates, is from 60 to 120 lbs. and this is insisted sufficient in ordinary cases; but in this instance we were apprehensive that the enemy might have taken alarm at our being so much on that side of the place, and, in consequence, partially or wholly built up the gateway. It was afterwards found that some attempts of the kind had been made by propping up the gate with beams.

The charge was so heavy, that it not only destroyed the gate, but brought down a considerable portion of the roof of the square building in which

it was placed, which proved a very considerable obstacle to the assaulting column, and the concussion acted as far as the tower A, under which an officer's party of her Majesty's 13th Regiment were standing at the time, but without occasioning any casualties. In cases of this nature it is of course the first object to guard against any chance of failure, and it is impossible even now to say how much the charge might have been reduced with safety.

The enemy appeared so much on the alert, and the fausse-braye was so much in advance of the gate, that we never contemplated being able to effect our object by surprise. The only question was whether it ought to be done by day or night. It was argued in favour of the former, that the artillery would be able to make so much more correct practice, that the defences would be in a considerable degree destroyed, and the fire so completely kept under as to enable the explosion party to advance with but little loss, and with the advantage of being able to see exactly what they were about. Captain Thomson, however, adhered to the latter, and we were afterwards convinced it was the most judicious plan; for although the fire of the artillery was necessarily more general than it would have been in daylight, still it was so well directed as to take up a good deal of the attention of the besieged and draw upon their batteries a portion of the fire which in daylight would have been thrown upon the explosion party and as-

assaulting columns. It would also even in daylight have been difficult with our light artillery to have kept down the fire so completely but that a few matchlock men might have kept their position near the gateway, and in that narrow space a smart fire from a few pieces might have obliged the party to retire. The obscurity of the night, to say nothing of the confusion which it must occasion among undisciplined troops, is certainly the best protection to a body of men engaged in an enterprise of this nature. Blue lights certainly render objects distinctly visible, but their light is glaring and uncertain, especially to men firing through loop-holes.

The party of her Majesty's 13th consisted of eighteen officers, twenty-eight sergeants, seven buglers, two hundred and seventy-six rank and file.

It was made of this strength not only to keep up a heavy fire upon the parapets and thereby divert attention from the party at the gateway, but also because we were not aware whether the fausse-braye was occupied or not, and as it extends so much in advance as to take the gate completely in reverse, it would have been necessary, had a fire opened from it, to have carried it by assault before the party with the bags could have advanced. The party with Lieutenant Durand was accompanied by six men of the 13th without their belts, the better to secure them from observation, to protect them from any sortie that might be made from the postern B, of the fausse-

braye on the right, or even from the gate itself; while another party under an officer, Lieutenant Jennings, accompanied me as far as the tower A, so as to check any attempts that might have been made from the fausse-braye on the left, and at the same time keeping up a fire on such of the enemy as showed their heads above the parapet; of this party one man was killed and a few wounded.

Nothing could have been more gallant than the conduct of Lieutenants Durand and M'Leod, and the men under their command, or more efficient than the manner in which they executed their duty.

The powder being in sand-bags, of a very coarse open texture, a long hose and port-fire was thought to be the safest method of firing it. The end of the hose fortunately just reached the small postern B. The casualties during this operation were much fewer than was expected, being in all one private killed, two sergeants and twenty-three rank and file wounded.

The heaviest fire was certainly outside the bridge, for the enemy near the gateway being marked whenever they attempted to show their heads above the parapet, were obliged to confine themselves to the loop-holes, the range from which is very uncertain and limited against men moving about. A high loop-holed wall, although imposing in appearance, is a profile but ill adapted to resist attacks of this nature.

The enemy were perfectly aware that we were in the gateway, but appeared to have no idea of the nature of our operations. Had they been so they might easily have rendered it impossible to place the powder-bags, by throwing over blue lights, of which they had a large quantity in store. The powder-pots and other fire-works, so much used by the natives of Hindoostan, would certainly have rendered the confined space leading to the gate much too hot for such an operation: but the ignorance of the besieged was known and calculated upon; the result shows how justly.

Their attempts at resistance were confined to the fire from the loop-holes, and throwing over large pieces of earth, some of which appeared to be intended to knock off the port-fire.

I on this occasion received an excellent lesson on the necessity of not allowing preconceived opinions to lead to any carelessness, in accurately ascertaining the result of any operation of this nature. The gateway appeared, from what I had seen from the hills to the north, to lead straight into the town, and on running in to examine it after the explosion, I was so much impressed with this idea, and so much convinced of the probability of the gateway having been blocked up during the day, that I was led to believe that it had actually been done from seeing in front of the gate that had been destroyed, the outline of an arch filled up with brick masonry. The true entrance turned to the right, and would have been

discovered by advancing a few paces, and that in perfect safety, for the interior was secure from all fire. Lieutenant Durand, on first going up, saw from through the chinks of the gate that there was a light and a guard immediately behind it, and from that circumstance was convinced that no interior obstacles of importance existed.

My mistake therefore was, luckily, immediately corrected without any bad consequence resulting.

A party of Sappers with felling axes, and commanded by Lieutenant Wemyss, and two scaling ladders in charge of Lieutenant Pigan, accompanied the assaulting column.

Of ten Engineer Officers engaged in this attack, only one, Lieutenant Marriot, was slightly wounded. Captain Thomson, however, had a very narrow escape, having been thrown down by a rush of some swordsmen into the gateway, and nearly sabred while upon the ground.

(Signed) A. G. PEAT, Capt. Bombay Engineers.

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## No. V.

## CABUL.

### NOTIFICATION BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Secret Department.

Simla, 26th August, 1839.

THE Governor General of India publishes for general information, the subjoined copy and extracts

of despatches from his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Indus, and from the Envoy and Minister at the Court of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, announcing the triumphant entry of the Shah into Cabool on the 7th instant.

In issuing this notification, the Governor General cannot omit the opportunity of offering to the officers and men composing the army of the Indus, and to the distinguished leader by whom they have been commanded, the cordial congratulations of the Government upon the happy result of a campaign, which, on the sole occasion when resistance was opposed to them, has been gloriously marked by victory, and in all the many difficulties of which the character of a British army for gallantry, good conduct, and discipline has been nobly maintained.

A salute of twenty-one guns will be fired on the receipt of this intelligence at all the principal stations of the army, in the three Presidencies.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

T. H. MADDOCK.

Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD AUCKLAND, G.C.B. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—We have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that the army marched from Ghuznee en route to Cabool, in two columns, on the 30th and 31st ultimo, his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk

with his own troops forming part of the second column.

On the arrival of the Commander-in-chief with the first column at Hyder Khail on the 1st instant, information reached him, and the same reached the Envoy and Minister at Huft Assaya, that Dost Mahommed with his army and artillery were advancing from Cabool, and would probably take up a position at Urghundee or Midan (the former twenty-four, the latter thirty-six miles from Cabool). Upon this it was arranged that his Majesty, with the second column under Major-General Willshire, should join the first column here, and advance together to attack Dost Mahommed, whose son, Mahommed Akhbur, had been recalled from Jellalabad with the troops guarding the Khyber Pass, and had formed a junction with his father, their joint forces, according to our information, amounting to about 13,000 men.

Every arrangement was made for the King and the army marching in a body from here to-morrow; but in the course of the night messengers arrived, and since (this morning), a great many chiefs and their followers, announcing the dissolution of Dost Mahommed's army, by the refusal of the greater part to advance against us with him, and that he had in consequence fled with a party of three hundred horsemen in the direction of Bamian, leaving his guns behind him in position as they were placed at Urghundee.

His Majesty Shah Shooja has sent forward a confidential officer, with whom has been associated Major Cureton, of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, taking with him a party of two hundred men and an officer of artillery, to proceed direct to take possession of those guns, and afterwards such other guns and public stores, as may be found in Cabool and the Balla Hissar, in the name of, and for his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and the King's order will be carried by his own officer with this party, for preserving the tranquillity of the city of Cabool.

A strong party has been detached in pursuit of Dost Mahommed under some of our most active officers. We continue our march upon Cabool tomorrow, and will reach it on the third day. We have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KEANE, L^t.-Gen^l.
Commander-in-Chief.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Envoy and Minister.

Head-quarters, Camp Shikarbad, 3rd August, 1839.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Extract of a letter, from his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., dated Head-quarters, Camp Cabool, 8th August, 1839.

It gives me infinite pleasure to be able to address my despatch to your Lordship from the capital, the vicinity of which his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk

and the army under my command, reached the day before yesterday. The King entered his capital yesterday afternoon, accompanied by the British Envoy and Minister and the gentlemen of the mission, and by myself, the Generals and Staff-officers of this army, and escorted by a squadron of her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons, and one of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, with Captain Martin's troop of horse artillery. His Majesty had expressed a wish that British troops should be present on the occasion, and a very small party only of his own Hindostanee and Affghan troops. After the animating scene of traversing the streets and reaching the palace in the Balla Hissar, a royal salute was fired, and an additional salvo in the Affghan style, from small guns resembling wall-pieces, named jingalls, and carried on camels. We heartily congratulated his Majesty on being in possession of the throne and kingdom of his ancestors, and upon the overthrow of his enemies, and after taking leave of his Majesty, we returned to our camp.

I trust we have thus accomplished all the objects which your Lordship had in contemplation, when you planned and formed the Army of the Indus, and the expedition into Affghanistan.

The conduct of the army, both European and Native, which your Lordship did me the honour to place under my orders, has been admirable throughout, and notwithstanding the severe marching and

privations they have gone through, their appearance and discipline have suffered nothing, and the opportunity afforded them at Ghuznee, of meeting and conquering their enemy, has added greatly to their good spirits.

The joint despatch addressed by Mr. Macnaghten and myself to your Lordship on the 3rd instant from Shikarbad, will have informed you, that at the moment we had made every preparation to attack (on the following day) Dost Mahommed Khan, in his position at Urghundee, where, after his son Mahommed Akhbar had joined him from Jellalabad, he had an army amounting to 13,000 men, well armed and appointed, and thirty pieces of artillery, we suddenly learned that he abandoned them all, and fled with a party of horsemen on the road to Bamian, leaving his guns in position as he had placed them to receive our attack.

It appears that a great part of his army, which was hourly becoming disorganized, refused to stand by him in the position, to receive our attack, and that it soon became in a state of dissolution. The great bulk immediately came over to Shah Shooja, tendering their allegiance, and I believe his Majesty will take most of them into his pay.

It seems that the news of the quick and determined manner in which we took their stronghold, Ghuznee, had such an effect upon the population of Cabool, and perhaps also upon the enemy's army,

that Dost Mahommed, from that moment, began to lose hope of retaining his rule for even a short time longer, and sent off his family and valuable property towards Bamian, but marched out of Cabool with his army and artillery, keeping a bold front towards us until the evening of the 2nd, when all his hopes were at an end by a division in his own camp, and one part of his army abandoning him. So precipitate was his flight, that he left in position his guns, with their ammunition and waggons, and the greater part of the cattle by which they were drawn. Major Cureton, of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, with his party of two hundred men, pushed forward on the 3rd, and took possession of those guns, &c. There were twenty-three brass guns in position and loaded, two more at a little distance which they attempted to take away, and since then, three more abandoned still further off on the Bamian road; thus leaving in our possession twenty-eight pieces of cannon, with all the material belonging to them, which are now handed over to Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Extract of a letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. Envoy and Minister to the Court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, dated Cabool, 8th August, 1839.

By a letter signed jointly by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane and myself, dated the 3rd instant, the Right Honourable the

Governor General was apprised of the flight of Dost Mahommed Khan.

The ex-chief was not accompanied by any person of consequence, and his followers are said to have been reduced to below the number of one hundred, on the day of his departure. In the progress of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk towards Cabul, his Majesty was joined by every person of rank and influence in the country, and he made his triumphal entry into the city, on the evening of the 7th inst. His Majesty has taken up his residence in the Balla Hissar, where he has required the British mission to remain for the present.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

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## No. VI.

### GENERAL ORDERS.

By the Right Honourable the Governor General of India on the breaking up of the Army of the Indus.

Secret Department.

Camp Paniput, 18th November, 1839.

Intelligence was this day received of the arrival, within the Peshawur territory, of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, G.C.B. and G. C. H. Commander-in-chief of the army of the Indus, with a portion of that force on its return to the British provinces. The military operations under

the direction of his Excellency, having now been brought to a close, the Right Honourable the Governor General has, on the part of the Government of India, to acquit himself of the gratifying duty of offering publicly his warmest thanks to his Excellency and to the officers and men who have served under his command, for the soldier-like spirit and conduct of all ranks throughout the late campaign; and he again cordially congratulates them on the attainment of the great objects of national security and honour for which the expedition was undertaken.

The plans of aggression by which the British empire in India was dangerously threatened, have, under Providence, been arrested. The chiefs of Cabool and Candahar, who had joined in hostile designs against us, have been deprived of power, and the territories which they ruled have been restored to the government of a friendly monarch. The Ameers of Scinde have acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and ranged themselves under its protection. Their country will now be an outwork of defence, and the navigation of the Indus within their dominions, exempt from all duties, has been opened to commercial enterprise. With the allied Government of the Sikhs, the closest harmony has been maintained; and on the side of Herat, the British alliance has been courted, and a good understanding, with a view to common safety, has been established with that power.

For these important results, the Governor General is proud to express the acknowledgment of the Government to the Army of the Indus, which, alike by its valour, its discipline and cheerfulness under hardships and privations, and its conciliatory conduct to the inhabitants of the countries through which it passed, has earned respect for the British name, and has confirmed in central Asia a just impression of British energy and resources.

The native and European soldier have vied with each other in effort and endurance. A march of extraordinary length, through difficult and untried countries, has been within a few months successfully accomplished. And in the capture of the one stronghold where resistance was attempted, a trophy of victory has been won which will add a fresh lustre to the reputation of the armies of India.

To Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-chief of the army, the Governor General would particularly declare his thanks for his direction of these honourable achievements. He would especially acknowledge the marked forbearance, and just appreciation of the views of the Government, which guided his Excellency in his intercourse with the Ameers of Scinde. He feels the Government to be under the deepest obligations to his Excellency for the unshaken firmness of purpose with which, throughout the whole course of the operations, obstacles and discouragements were disregarded, and

the prescribed objects of policy were pursued. And above all, he would warmly applaud the decisive judgment with which the attack upon the fortress of Ghuznee was planned and its capture effected. Nor would he omit to remark upon that spirit of perfect co-operation with which his Excellency gave all support to the political authorities with whom he was associated. Mr. Macnaghten, the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and Colonel Pottinger, the resident in Scinde, have been chiefly enabled by the cordial good understanding which has throughout subsisted between them and his Excellency, to render the important services by which they have entitled themselves to the high approbation of the Government; and his Lordship has much pleasure in noticing the feelings of satisfaction with which his Excellency regarded the valuable services of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, who was politically attached to him in the advance upon Ghuznee.

The Governor General would follow his Excellency the Commander-in-chief in acknowledging the manner in which Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K. C. B. and K. C. H. exercised his command of the Bengal division throughout the campaign, and supported the honour of his country on the 23rd of July; and his Lordship would also offer the thanks of the Government to Major-General Willshire, C. B. commanding the 2nd Infantry di-

vision; to Major-General Thackwell, C.B. and K.H. commanding the Bengal division; to Brigadier Roberts, commanding the 4th Infantry Brigade; to Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the artillery of the army; to Brigadier Scott, commanding the Bombay Cavalry Brigade; and to Brigadier Persse, upon whom, on the lamented death of the late Brigadier Arnold, devolved the command of the Bengal Cavalry Brigade; as well as to the Commandants of corps and detachments, with the Officers and men under their respective commands, and to the Officers at the head of the several departments, with all of whom his Excellency the Commander-in-chief has expressed his high satisfaction.

To Brigadier Sale, C.B. already honourably distinguished in the annals of Indian warfare, who commanded the storming party at Ghuznee; to Lieut.-Colonel Dennie, C.B. who led the advance on the same occasion; and to Captain George Thomson, of the Bengal Engineers, whose services in the capture of that fortress have been noticed in marked terms of commendation by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief; and to Captain Peat, of the Bombay Engineers; and to Lieutenants Durand and M'Leod, of the Bengal Engineers, and the other officers and men of the Bengal and Bombay Engineers under their command, the Governor General would especially tender the expression of his admiration of the gallantry and science which they respectively displayed in the exe-

cution of the important duties confided to them in that memorable operation.

In testimony of the services of the army of the Indus, the Governor General is pleased to resolve, that all the corps, European and Native, in the service of the East India Company, which proceeded beyond the Bolan Pass, shall have on their regimental colours the word "Affghanistan," and such of them as were employed in the reduction of the fortress of that name, the word "Ghuznee" in addition.

In behalf of the Queen's regiments, the Governor General will recommend to her Majesty, through the proper channel, that the same distinction may be granted to them.

The Governor General would here notice with approbation the praiseworthy conduct, during this expedition, of the officers and men attached to the disciplined force of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. This force was newly raised, and opportunities had not been afforded for its perfect organization and instruction. But it shared honourably in the labours and difficulties of the campaign, and it had the good fortune in repelling an attack made by the enemy in force, on the day prior to the storming of Ghuznee, to be enabled to give promise of the excellent service which may hereafter be expected from it.

His Lordship has also much satisfaction in adding that the best acknowledgments of the Government

are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, who was employed upon the Peshawur frontier, and who, gallantly supported by the officers and men of all ranks under him, and seconded by the cordial aid of the Sikh Government, — an aid, the more honourable, because rendered at a painful crisis of its affairs,— opened the Khyber Pass, and overthrew the authority of the enemy at that quarter, at the moment when the advance of the forces of the Shahzadah Timoor could most conduce to the success of the general operation.

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

T. H. MADDOCK.

Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Camp Paniput, 18th November, 1839.

The Right Honourable the Governor General, having taken into consideration the heavy losses and expenses incurred by the commissioned officers and European troops serving with the Army of the Indus, and being desirous also to mark his admiration of the intrepidity and soldier-like bearing evinced by all portions of that army, European and Native, during the recent campaign in Affghanistan, has been pleased to resolve that a donation of six months full or field-batta shall be granted to the officers and fighting men of every rank attached to the army, who advanced beyond the Bolan Pass.

The Honourable the President in Council is re-

quested to issue such subsidiary orders as may be necessary for giving effect to his Lordship's resolution.

J. STUART, Lieut.-Col.
Sec. to the Gov. of India Mil. Dep^t., with the Gov. Gen.

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## No. VII.

## KHELAT.

### Secret Department.

Camp Deothanee, 4th December, 1839.

The many outrages and murders committed, in attacks on the followers of the Army of the Indus, by the plundering tribes in the neighbourhood of the Bolan Pass, at the instigation of their Chief, Meer Mehrab Khan of Khelat, at a time when he was professing friendship for the British Government, and negotiating a treaty with its representatives, having compelled the Government to direct a detachment of the army to proceed to Khelat for the exaction of retribution from that chieftain, and for the execution of such arrangements as would establish future security in that quarter, a force under the orders of Major-General Willshire, C. B. was employed on this service, and the Right Honourable the Governor General of India having this day received that officer's report of the successful accomplishment of the objects entrusted to him, has been pleased to direct that the following copy of the despatch dated 14th ultimo be published for general information.

The Right Honourable the Governor General is happy to avail himself of this opportunity to record his high admiration of the signal gallantry and spirit of the troops engaged on this occasion, and offers, on the part of the Government, his best thanks to Major-General Willshire and to the officers and men who served under him.

T. H. MADDOCK.
Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD AUCKLAND, G.C.B.
Governor General of India, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—In obedience to the joint instructions furnished me by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Indus, and the Envoy and Minister to his Majesty Shah Shooja, under date Cabool, the 17th September 1839, deputing to me the duty of deposing Mehrab Khan of Khelat, in consequence of the avowed hostility of that Chief to the British nation, during the present campaign, I have the honour to report that on my arrival at Quetta on the 31st ultimo, I communicated with Captain Bean the political agent in Shawl, and arranged with him the best means of giving effect to the orders I had received.

In consequence of the want of public carriage, and the limited quantity of commissariat supplies at Quetta, as well as the reported want of forage on the route to Khelat, I was obliged to despatch to Cutch Gandava the whole of the cavalry and the greater portion of

the artillery, taking with me only the troops noted in the margin,* leaving Quetta on the 3rd instant.

During the march the communications received from Mehrab Khan were so far from acceding to the terms offered, that he threatened resistance if the troops approached his capital; I therefore proceeded and arrived at the village of Giranee, within eight miles of Khelat, on the 12th instant.

Marching from hence the following morning, a body of horse were perceived on the right of the road, which commenced firing on the advanced guard, commanded by Major Pennycuick, her Majesty's 17th Regiment, as the column advanced; and skirmishing between them continued until we came in sight of Khelat, rather less than a mile distance.

I now discovered that three heights on the N. W. face of the fort, and parallel to the north, were covered with infantry, with five guns in position, protected by small parapet walls.

Captain Peat, Chief Engineer, immediately reconnoitred, and having reported that nothing could be done until those heights were in our possession, I decided at once on storming them simultaneously, and if practicable, entering the fort with the fugitives, as the gate in the northern face was occasionally opened

* Two guns, Bombay Horse Artillery.—Four guns, Shah's Artillery.—Two Ressalas Local Horse.—Queen's Royals.—Her Majesty's 17th Regiment.—31st Bengal N. I.—Bombay Engineers.

to keep up the communication between the fort and the heights.

To effect this object I detached a company from each of the European regiments forming the advanced guard with Major Pennycuick, her Majesty's 17th Regiment, for the purpose of occupying the gardens and enclosures to the north-east of the town, and two more companies in the plain, midway between them and the column; at the same time I ordered three columns of attack to be formed, composed of four companies from each corps, under their respective commanding officers, Major Carruthers of the Queen's, Lieutenant-Colonel Croker her Majesty's 17th Regiment, and Major Western 31st Bengal Native Infantry, the whole under the command of Brigadier Baumgardt; the remainder of the regiments forming three columns of reserve under my own direction to move in support.

A hill being allotted to each column, Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the artillery, moved quickly forward in front, towards the base of the heights, and when, within the required range, opened a fire upon the infantry and guns, under cover of which the columns moved steadily on, and commenced the ascent for the purpose of carrying the heights exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns, which had commenced while the columns of attack were forming.

Before the columns reached their respective sum-

mits of the hills, the enemy, overpowered by the superior and well-directed fire of our artillery, had abandoned them, attempting to carry off their guns, but which they were unable to do. At this moment it appearing to me the opportunity offered for the troops to get in with the fugitives, and if possible, gain possession of the gate of the fortress, I despatched orders to the Queen's Royal and her Majesty's 17th Regiment to make a rush from the heights for that purpose, following myself to the summit of the nearest to observe the result: at this moment, the four companies on my left, which had been detached to the gardens and plains, seeing the chance that offered of entering the fort, moved rapidly forward from their respective points towards the gateway, under a heavy and well-directed fire from the walls of the fort and citadel, which were thronged by the enemy.

The gate having been closed before the troops moving towards it could effect the desired object, and the garrison strengthened by the enemy driven from the heights, they were compelled to cover themselves, as far as practicable, behind some walls and ruined buildings to the right and left of it; while Brigadier Stevenson, having ascended the heights with the artillery, opened two guns under the command of Lieutenant Foster, Bombay Horse Artillery, upon the defences above its gates and vicinity, while the fire of two others, commanded by Lieutenant Cowper, Shah's Artillery, was directed against the gate itself,

the remaining two, with Lieutenant Creed, being sent round to the road on the left, leading direct up to the gate, and when within two hundred yards commenced a fire for the purpose of blowing it open, and after a few rounds they succeeded in knocking in one-half of it. On observing this, I rode down the hill towards the gate, pointing to it, thereby announcing to the troops it was open; they instantly rose from their cover, and rushed in; those under the command of Major Pennycuick, being the nearest, were the first to gain the gate, headed by that officer; the whole of the storming column from the three regiments rapidly following and gaining an entrance as quickly as it was possible to do so, under a heavy fire from the works and from the interior, the enemy making a most gallant and determined resistance, disputing every inch of ground up to the walls of the inner citadel.

At this time I directed the reserve columns to be brought near the gate, and detached one company of the 17th Regiment under Captain Darby, to the western side of the fort, followed by a portion of the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, commanded by Major Western, conducted by Captain Outram, acting as my extra aide-de-camp, for the purpose of securing the heights under which the southern angle is situated, and intercepting any of the garrison escaping from that side. Having driven off the enemy from the heights above, the united detachments then descended to the gate of the fort below, and forced it open

before the garrison (who closed it as they saw the troops approach) had time to secure it.

When the party was detached by the western face, I also sent two companies from the reserve of the 17th under Major Deshon, and two guns of the Shah's Artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Creed, Bombay Artillery, by the eastern to the southern face, for the purpose of blowing open the gate above alluded to, had it been necessary, as well as the gate of the inner citadel, the infantry, joining the other detachments, making their way through the town in the direction of the citadel.

After some delay, the troops that held possession of the town at length succeeded in forcing an entrance into the citadel, where a desperate resistance was made by Mehrab Khan at the head of his people, he himself, with many of his chiefs, being killed sword in hand; several others, however, kept up a fire upon our troops from detached buildings difficult of access; and it was not until late in the afternoon, that those who survived were induced to give themselves up on a promise of their lives being spared.

From every account, I have reason to believe the garrison consisted of upwards of 2,000 fighting-men, and that the son of Mehrab Khan had been expected to join him from Nowsky with a further reinforcement. The enclosed return will show the strength of the force under my command present at the capture.

The defences of the fort, as in the case of Ghuznee, far exceeded in strength what I had been led to suppose from previous report, and the towering height of the inner citadel was most formidable, both in appearance and reality.

I lament to say, that the loss of killed and wounded on our side has been severe, as will be seen by the accompanying return: that on the part of the enemy must have been great, but the exact number I have not been able to ascertain. Several hundreds of prisoners were taken, from whom the Political Agent has selected those he considers it necessary for the present to retain in confinement; the remainder have been liberated.

It is quite impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the gallant and steady conduct of the officers and men upon this occasion; but the fact of less than an hour having elapsed from the formation of the columns for the attack, to the period of the troops being within the fort, and that performed in the open day and in the face of an enemy so very superior in number and so perfectly prepared for resistance, will, I trust, convince your Lordship how deserving the officers and troops are of my warmest thanks, and of the highest praise that can be bestowed.

To Brigadier Baumgardt, commanding the storming column, my best thanks are due, and he reports that Captain Wyllie, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, and Captain Gilland, his Aides-de-camp, ably assisted him and zealously performed their duties;

also to Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the Artillery, and Lieutenants Forster and Cowper, respectively in charge of the Bombay and Shah's Artillery, I feel greatly indebted for the steady and scientific manner in which the service of dislodging the enemy from the heights, and afterwards effecting an entrance into the fort, was performed. The Brigadier has brought to my notice the assistance he received from Captain Coghlan his Brigade Major, Lieutenant Woosnam his Aide-de-camp, and Lieutenant Creed when in battery yesterday.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Croker, commanding her Majesty's 17th Regiment, Major Carruthers, commanding the Queen's Royals, Major Western, commanding the Bengal 31st Native Infantry, I feel highly indebted for the manner in which they conducted their respective columns to the attack of the heights, and afterwards to the assault of the fort, as well as to Major Pennycuick of the 17th, who led the advanced guard companies to the same point.

To Captain Peat, Chief Engineer, and to the officers and men of the engineer corps, my acknowledgments are due: to Major Neil Campbell, Acting Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army; to Captain Hagart, Acting Deputy Adjutant-General, and to Lieutenant Ramsay, Acting Assistant Quartermaster-General, my best thanks are due for the able assistance afforded me by their services.

It is with much pleasure I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Major Campbell

for relieving me from the necessity of returning by the route by which the army advanced to Cabool, which, being entirely exhausted, must have subjected the troops to great privations, and the horses to absolute starvation: the Quartermaster-General took upon himself the responsibility of leading my column through the heart of Ghiljee and Koohul countries, never hitherto traversed by Europeans, by which our route was considerably shortened, a sufficiency obtained, and great additions made to our geographical knowledge of the country, besides great political advantages obtained in peaceably settling those districts.

From my Aides-de-camp, Captain Robinson and Lieutenant Halkett, as well as Captain Outram, who volunteered his services on my personal staff, I received the utmost assistance; and to the latter officer I feel greatly indebted for the zeal and ability with which he has performed various duties that I have required of him, upon other occasions as well as the present.

It is with much satisfaction I am able to state that the utmost cordiality has existed between the political authorities and myself, and to acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from Captain Bean in obtaining supplies.

After allowing time to make the necessary arrangements for continuing my march, I shall descend into Cutch Gundava by the Moona Pass,

having received a favourable report of the practicability of taking guns that way.

I have deputed Captain Outram to take a duplicate of the despatch to the Honourable the Governor of Bombay by the direct route from hence to Sonmeanee Bunder, the practicability or otherwise of which for the passage of troops I consider it an object of importance to ascertain. I have, &c.

(Signed) T. WILLSHIRE, Major-General,
Commanding Bombay Column Army of the Indus.

Return of Casualties in the Army under the command of Major General Willshire, C.B. employed at the storming of Khelat, on the 13th November 1839.

| CORPS. | KILLED. | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | | | Total killed and wounded | HORSES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lieutenants. | Subedors. | Rank and File. | Total. | Captains. | Lieutenants. | Ensigns. | Adjutants. | Jemadars. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Regt. Bheesties. | Total. | | Killed. | Wounded. |
| Detachment 3rd Troop Horse Artillery . . | None. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Troop Kaubool Artillery . . . . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| Gun Lascars attached to ditto . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment . . | 1 | 0 | 21 | 22 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 40 | 0 | 47 | 69 | 0 | 1 |
| H. M.'s 17th Regiment . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 29 | 0 | 33 | 39 | 0 | 0 |
| 31st Regiment Bengal Native Infantry . . | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 22 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Sappers, Miners, and Pioneers . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Resillas of the 4th Bengal Local Horse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Total . . . | 1 | 1 | 29 | 31 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 87 | 1 | 107 | 138 | 0 | 7 |

Missing, None.

*Names of Officers killed and wounded.*

| Killed. | Remarks. |
|---|---|
| Corps. | Rank and Names. |
| H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Reg. | Lieut. P. Gravatt. |
| 1 Corporal, since dead. | |

Wounded.

| | |
|---|---|
| H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Reg. | Capt. W. M. Lyster, severely. |
| ditto.... ditto.... ditto.... | Capt. T. Sealey, ditto. |
| ditto.... ditto.... ditto.... | Lt. T. W. E. Holdsworth, do. |
| ditto.... ditto.... ditto.... | Lt. D. J. Dickinson, slightly. |
| ditto.... ditto.... ditto.... | Adj. J. E. Simmons, severely. |
| H. M.'s 17th Regiment ..... | Capt. L. C. Bonschier, ditto. |
| 31st Reg. Bengal Native Infantry, | Capt. Lawrin, slightly. |
| ditto.... ditto.... ditto.... | Ensign Hopper, severely. |

(Signed) C. Hagart, Captain,
Acting Deputy Adjutant-General B. C.

## State of the Corps engaged at the storming of Khelat on the 13th November 1839—Under the command of Major General Willshire, C.B.

Camp at Khelat, 14th November 1839.

| CORPS. | Major-Generals. | Brigadiers. | Aides-de-camp. | Act. Deputy Adjt. Gen. | Act. Qr.-master-Gen. | Dep. Ass. Qr.-mr.-Gen. | Brigade Majors. | Sub-Asst. Comsy. Gen. | Lieutenant-Colonels. | Majors. | Captains. | Lieutenants. | Ensigns. | Adjutants. | Quarter-masters. | Surgeons. | Assistant Surgeons. | Native Officers. | Sub-Conductors. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Farriers. | Rank and File. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Staff . . . | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Detachment 3rd Troop Horse Artillery . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 1st Troop of Cabool Artillery . . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 58 |
| H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 10 | 0 | 290 |
| H. M.'s 17th Regiment . . . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 29 | 9 | 0 | 336 |
| 31st Regiment Bengal Native Infantry . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 30 | 14 | 0 | 329 |
| Total . . | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 26 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 100 | 34 | 1 | 1049 |

NOTE.—Two Ressallas of the Bengal Local Horse remained in charge of the Baggage during the attack.

(Signed) C. HAGART, Captain,
Acting Deputy Adjutant-General Bombay Column Army of the Indus.

List of Beloochee Sirdars killed in the Assault of Khelat, on the 13th November 1839.

| Names. | Remarks. |
|---|---|
| Meer Mehrab Khan | Chief of Khelat. |
| Meer Wullee Mahomed | The Muengal Sirdar of Wudd. |
| Abdool Kurreem | Ruhsanee Sirdar. |
| Dan Kurreem | Shuhwanee Sirdar. |
| Mahomed Rusa | Nephew of the Vuzeer, Mahomed Hossain. |
| Khysur Khan | Ahshiee Sirdar. |
| Dewan Bechah Mull | Financial Minister. |
| Noor Mahomed and Tajoo Mahomed | Shahgassee Sirdars. |

PRISONERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mahomed Hussen | Wuzzeer. |
| Moollah Ruheem Dad | Ex-Naib of Shawl. |

With several others of inferior rank.

(Signed) J. D. D. Bean,
Political Agent.

(True Copies.)

T. H. Maddock.
Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Governor General.

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## No VIII.

## Circular No. 15 of 1840.

Superintending Surgeon's Office, Sukkur, 11th Jan. 1840.

Superintending Surgeon Kennedy, having received intimation of his promotion to a seat at the Medical Board, with orders to proceed to the Presidency, will deliver over his charge on the 13th instant to Staff-

surgeon Pinhey, to whom all reports and references are to be made until further orders.

Superintending Surgeon Kennedy cannot take leave of the medical officers with whom he has been associated in this division without expressing in the warmest terms his sense of obligation for the manner in which all departmental duties, both professional and financial, have been carried on during the campaign; and he will not fail to state to the Medical Board that it is to this zealous co-operation he is indebted for the most flattering testimonial to the efficiency of the department with which he has been honoured by the Major-General commanding the division.

The lamented deaths of Surgeon Hamilton, her Majesty's 17th Regiment; of Surgeon Forbes, 1st Regiment Light Cavalry; Assistant Surgeon Hibbert, her Majesty's Queen's Royals; and Assistant Surgeon Halloran, on general duty; the departure to Bombay of Surgeon Graham, on sick certificate, and the removal of Assistant Surgeons Ritchie, Grant, and Gillanders from the Bombay Division to the Political Department in Affghanistan, have considerably reduced the establishment, and necessarily added to the labour of all who remained; but the Superintending Surgeon feels much pride and much gratification in recording that at the conclusion of such a campaign, when the utmost energies and resources of every individual were required to meet

many very trying emergencies, no one has been found wanting; and the conduct of the Medical Department has met the unqualified approbation of superior authority.

R. HARTLEY KENNEDY,
Superintending Surgeon.

*Extract from Column Orders.*

By Major-General WILLSHIRE, C.B.

Camp at Sukkur, Friday, 10th January 1840.

Under instructions from Government, Superintending Surgeon Kennedy will proceed to Bombay on the 13th instant, to take his seat at the Medical Board on promotion.

The Major-General cannot permit Superintending Surgeon Kennedy to leave the Bombay column of the army, without begging him to accept his best thanks for the very perfect manner in which he has at all times conducted the duties of the Medical Department, and by which the Major-General, during the period he has commanded the column, has been saved from ever, for a moment, having occasion to feel the slightest anxiety relative to the arrangements for, and care of, the sick of the column, under the very great difficulties he, and the other officers of his department, had to contend with.

Surgeon Pinhey, the Senior Surgeon in Sinde, is

appointed to officiate as Superintending Surgeon, from the 13th instant, until further orders.

True extracts.

(Signed) C. HAGART, Major,
and Dep. Adj$^{t}$.-Gen. Bombay Army.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.